FEBRUARY 2, 2015

TIME



CHEAP GAS

How long can it last?
How low will it go?


PEACE CORPS
There isn't an app for this.
Live, learn, and work
with a community overseas.
Be a Volunteer.
peacecorps.gov

TIME
VOL. 185, NO. 3 | 2015

6 | Conversation

BRIEFING

9 | Verbatim

10 | LightBox
An MLK tribute march in Selma, Ala.

12 | World
The coup in Yemen; Ian Bremmer on China's shaky allies

16 | Spotlight
Tallying the damage done to oceans

18 | Nation
Supreme Court to rule on gay marriage

20 | Sports
A Super Bowl preview

22 | Tech
VC funding for startups is booming

24 | Health
A decoder for egg-carton labels

26 | Milestones
Tony Verna, inventor of instant replay, dies

COMMENTARY

27 | Viewpoint
Amity Shlaes on the problem with Obama's growth plan

31 | In the Arena
Joe Klein on the President's renewed sense of purpose

ON THE COVER:
TIME *photo-illustration. Photographs by Jody Dole—Getty Images; Foodcollection/Getty Images*



A gallon of gas went for $1.58 on Jan. 15 at this station in Nevada, Mo. Photograph by Barrett Emke for TIME

FEATURES

32 Barreling Down
Cheap oil is bringing relief to U.S. consumers—and change across the globe *by Alex Altman, Emily Barone, Rana Foroohar, Bill Saporito, Girish Gupta and Bryan Walsh*

40 The Watchdog
Jason Chaffetz, the new chair of the House Oversight Committee, will be scrutinizing the White House carefully *by Jack Dickey*

44 Souped Up
Campbell's CEO Denise Morrison hopes to boost sales with healthier snacks *by Eliza Gray*

48 Musical Interlude
The Super Bowl halftime show has become pop's biggest stage *by Daniel D'Addario*

THE CULTURE

54 | Movies
Richard Corliss on *American Sniper* and the Oscar race

56 | Movies
Canadian director Xavier Dolan's Cannes-winning *Mommy*

58 | Tuned In
James Poniewozik on the legacy of *Parks and Recreation*

60 | Travel
Flexing the strong dollar abroad

62 | Pop Chart
Quick Talk with *Portlandia*'s Carrie Brownstein; emoji art; the coming Bieber roast

64 | The Awesome Column
Joel Stein rereads his college application and cringes



Nick Offerman and Amy Poehler of Parks and Recreation, *page 58*

PARKS AND RECREATION: NBC

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for combined issues for one week in January, February, April, July, August, September and November, by Time Inc. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, NY 10020-1393. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canada addresses to: Postal Stn A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ont., M5W 3G9. GST #888381621RT0001 © 2015 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. subscriptions: $49 for one year. **Subscribers:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. **Postmaster:** Send address changes to P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS—For 24/7 service, please use our website: *time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME or write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. **Mailing list:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call, or write us at P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120, or send us an email at ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** Printed in the U.S.

What You Said About …



FALLOUT FROM THE PARIS ATTACKS "No one condones the shocking violence inflicted on the Paris cartoonists," wrote Doreen Langmead of Victoria, B.C., in response to David Von Drehle's cover story about Europe in the wake of the *Charlie Hebdo* shootings. "But **gratuitous ridicule of what someone else holds sacred is pointless and very, very childish** … whether or not we regard them as sensible or idiotic." Victor Tupitza from Burke, Va., weighed in too, calling some of Von Drehle's logic "faulty"—in particular his statement that by attacking a satirical magazine, terrorists forced the West to make a damning choice between freedom of expression and offending Muslims. ("Cower or offend: either way the murderers win.") "There is no compulsion to offend—thus no need to cower," Tupitza wrote.

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar's essay denouncing the Paris terrorists as barbaric thugs—and suggesting they bear no relation to Islam— "should be required reading," wrote Sister Ann Leonardo of St. Catharine, Ky. "Now if only the media would start using the word *terrorist* without qualifying them as Islamic," added Madhukar Vable of Houghton, Mich. But the Rev. Bill Livingston of Brevard, N.C., was one of many to call for more organized condemnation from prominent Muslims. "**Unfortunately, we live in a society that thrives off of sensationalism,**" he wrote. "If Islamic leaders do not continually present an alternative face of Islam than that presented in the media, there will always need to be someone to say these acts are in no way related to Islam."

ELIZABETH WARREN Rana Foroohar's column suggesting that even if she does not run for President, Warren could "yank [Hillary Clinton] to the left" prompted Paula Jardin of Acushnet, Mass., to lament the loss of the "modest American dream": "**I don't understand why being concerned with the status of the middle class makes you leftist, liberal, socialist, etc.,** when clearly you are front and center. I hope Warren yanks, pulls, tugs everyone to the middle!"



LIGHTBOX *Starting in the late 1970s, photographer Janet Delaney spent years documenting the early growth of the San Francisco neighborhood South of Market—today known as SoMa—the increasingly gentrified home of tech giants like Twitter and Airbnb. See her intimate shots (like the one above, showing a couple grooming their horses after a Veterans Day parade) at lightbox.time.com.*

BONUS TIME

Subscribe to The Brief for free and get a **daily email with the 12 stories you need to know to start your morning.** For more, visit time.com/email.

NOW ON TIME.COM

Where and what does the President eat outside the White House? TIME reviewed 12,400 press-pool reports from 2009 to 2015 to bring you his preferred haunts for dates, burgers and more. A sampling of the eateries listed at time.com/obama-plate:

MARCH 8, 2012
BOUNDARY ROAD
Washington (seen below)

SEPT. 25, 2014
ESTELA
New York City

JAN. 1, 2015
VINTAGE CAVE
Honolulu



EATING OUT

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "Hacking Back" (Jan. 26), we misstated the name of the organization headed by Admiral Michael Rogers. It is the National Security Agency.

Write to us

Send an email: **letters@time.com.** Please do not send attachments

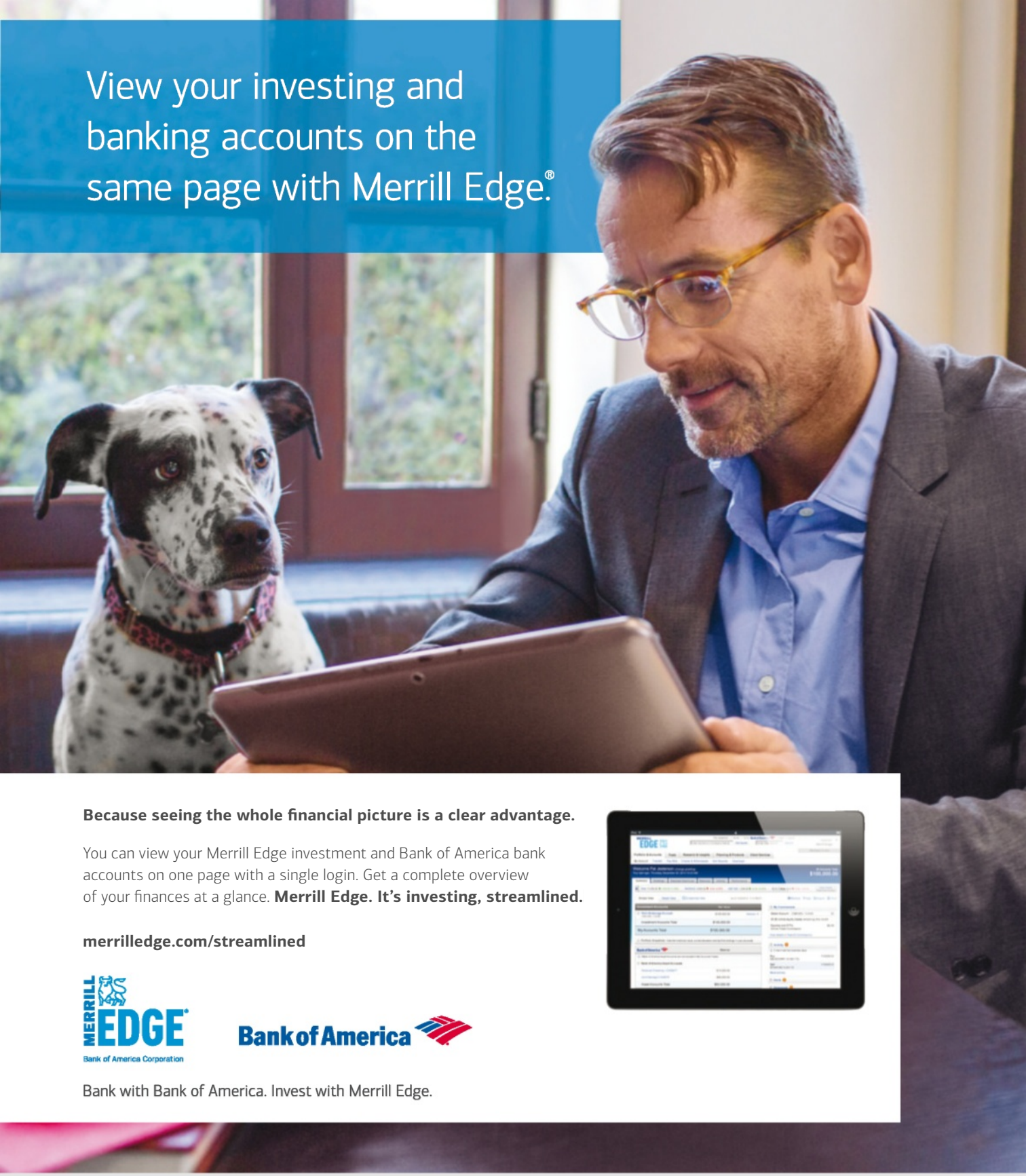
Send a letter: **TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020.** Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Customer Service and Change of Address For 24/7 service, please use our website: **time.com/customerservice.** You can also call 1-800-843-8463 or write to TIME at P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. **Back Issues** Contact us at *help.single@customersvc.com* or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at the website *time.com/time/reprints.* To request custom reprints, email *TimeIncReprints@parsintl.com* or call 1-212-221-9595, ext. 437; for all other uses, contact us by emailing *timereprints_us@timeinc.com.* **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit *timemediakit.com.* **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, email *syndication@timeinc.com* or call 1-212-522-5868

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples before recycling

LIGHTBOX: IMAGE COURTESY OF THE ARTIST © 2014 JANET DELANEY; OBAMAS: GETTY IMAGES

View your investing and banking accounts on the same page with Merrill Edge.®



Because seeing the whole financial picture is a clear advantage.

You can view your Merrill Edge investment and Bank of America bank accounts on one page with a single login. Get a complete overview of your finances at a glance. **Merrill Edge. It's investing, streamlined.**

merrilledge.com/streamlined

MERRILL EDGE® Bank of America Corporation

Bank of America

Bank with Bank of America. Invest with Merrill Edge.

Certain banking and brokerage accounts may be ineligible for real-time money movement, including but not limited to transfers to/from bank IRAs (CD, Money Market), 529s and Credit Cards and transfers from IRAs, Loans (HELOC, LOC, Mortgage) and accounts held in the military bank. Merrill Edge is available through Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Incorporated (MLPF&S), and consists of the Merrill Edge Advisory Center (investment guidance) and self-directed online investing. MLPF&S is a registered broker-dealer, Member SIPC and a wholly owned subsidiary of Bank of America Corporation. Banking products are provided by Bank of America, N.A. and affiliated banks, Members FDIC and wholly owned subsidiaries of Bank of America Corporation.

Investment products: **Are Not FDIC Insured** | **Are Not Bank Guaranteed** | **May Lose Value**

©2013 Bank of America Corporation. All rights reserved. AR88BFC5

The cloud that responds first.

Mother Nature can be a tough customer. That's why emergency responders around the world need to be agile and coordinated when disaster strikes. Powered by Lync and Office 365, teams from multiple organizations can collaborate and coordinate in real time to outmaneuver emergencies — no matter what device they are on.

This cloud helps save more than time. This is the Microsoft Cloud.



learn more at microsoftcloud.com

Microsoft Cloud

Briefing

‘We do not attack religion, but we do when it gets involved in politics.’

GERARD BIARD, *Charlie Hebdo* editor, defending the satirical newspaper’s decision to publish cartoon depictions of the Muslim Prophet Muhammad, in his first interview on American TV since terrorists killed 12 people at the paper



161-2

The final score of a California high school girls’ basketball game, which led to the coach’s suspension for poor sportsmanship



$100 MILLION

The price for which a two-story penthouse in Manhattan was purchased, setting a record for the most expensive apartment ever sold in New York City

‘I would love to see a greater cultural diversity among all our nominees.’

CHERYL BOONE ISAACS, president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, responding to criticism of the lack of diversity in this year’s acting nominations



American Sniper
The Iraq War flick set January box-office records with a $107 million opening



GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

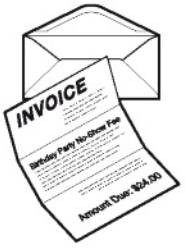


Blackhat
Michael Mann’s hacker movie earned just $4.5 million in its first weekend

‘I SAID I WENT TO HEAVEN BECAUSE I THOUGHT IT WOULD GET ME ATTENTION.’

ALEX MALARKEY, car-accident survivor, who claimed in the best-selling book *The Boy Who Came Back From Heaven* that he visited angels during his time in a coma at age 6; he now admits it was a hoax





$24

Invoice (£15.95) sent to a 5-year-old British boy by a classmate’s mother after he failed to attend the classmate’s birthday party

‘I’d like to be an equal citizen in my own country.’



LEO VARADKAR, Irish Health Minister, who revealed he’s gay and supports same-sex marriage as a May referendum on the issue approaches

‘If you truly believe you could … support a family on less than $15,000 a year, go try it.’

U.S. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, calling on Congress to increase the minimum wage during his State of the Union address. Obama touted the economic recovery and said “the shadow of crisis has passed”

BIARD, BOONE ISAACS: GETTY IMAGES; MALARKEY, VARADKAR: AP; AMERICAN SNIPER: WARNER BROS. ENTERTAINMENT; BLACKHAT: UNIVERSAL PICTURES; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

Sources: NBC News; BBC; AP; *Guardian*; NPR



Briefing

LightBox

Marching On

To commemorate Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Oprah Winfrey and other cast members from *Selma* led thousands of demonstrators on Jan. 18 across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, where King led his own marches from Selma, Ala., in 1965.

Photograph by Sean Gardner—Getty Images

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK, GO TO **lightbox.time.com**



World



Houthi fighters stand beside a damaged guard post near the presidential palace in Sana'a

U.S. Fears That Chaos in Yemen Could Fuel al-Qaeda's Resurgence

Shi'ite rebels stormed the presidential palace in Sana'a, the capital of Yemen, on Jan. 20, leaving President Abdel Rabbo Mansour Hadi clinging to power by a thread and threatening one of the U.S.'s most important alliances in the fight against al-Qaeda.

The militants, members of a group of Shi'ite Muslims known as the Houthis, first swept into the city in September, when they overran military forces and demanded to share power with Hadi's government. When negotiations broke down in January, the Houthis decided to act. The day after the palace was seized, Hadi announced that he had reached a tentative agreement with the rebels to bring violence to a temporary halt. But it's clear who is pulling the strings now in Sana'a.

The instability in Yemen's capital is of great concern to the U.S. as it continues to fight al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), the Yemen-based terrorist group that is among al-Qaeda's most powerful affiliates. AQAP claimed responsibility for the Jan. 7 terrorist attack on the French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* and has been linked to three failed attempts to take down U.S.-bound airplanes.

The U.S. has repeatedly struck at AQAP in Yemen with drones and has supplied and trained Yemeni forces to attack the group. Since 2011, Washington has provided Sana'a with almost $1 billion in economic and military aid. That strategy has been hailed as a success by President Barack Obama and was used as a blueprint for the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS). But as the government has focused on the Houthi rebellion, AQAP has regained a foothold in southern Yemen. U.S. officials now fear that a prolonged power vacuum in Sana'a could give AQAP free rein to grow—and to pose new threats to the West.

The Houthis, though, are no friends of the Sunni al-Qaeda militants. The group, which some suspect is backed by the Shi'ite leadership of Iran, has clashed with al-Qaeda in Yemen and criticized Hadi's failure to quash Sunni extremism. But it has no interest in an alliance with the U.S.; the motto on its flag reads DEATH TO ISRAEL, DEATH TO AMERICA.

Washington now faces a dilemma in Yemen. If a weakened Hadi stays in power, the U.S. must assess how it can leverage its influence against that of his new partners. But if he is removed, the U.S. will either have to compete with Iran for the support of a Houthi-dominated government or make do without a key counterterrorism ally in the region.

DATA

WORDS ON THE WORLD

President Barack Obama has spent more time talking about foreign policy during his second-term State of the Union addresses than he did during his first-term ones. Here's a breakdown:



SOURCE: WASHINGTON POST

FRANCE

'I really wanted to come here and share a hug with all of Paris.'

JOHN KERRY, U.S. Secretary of State, speaking in Paris on Jan. 16, a week after terrorist attacks there killed 17 people. Kerry met with French President François Hollande and laid wreaths at the sites of two of the attacks. French Prime Minister Manuel Valls announced on Jan. 21 that the country would hire 2,600 new counterterrorism officers by 2018.



By Nikhil Kumar and Noah Rayman





Playing With Fire

KENYA Students at a Nairobi primary school protest plans by a developer to pave over their playground. The Jan. 19 demonstrations by about 100 students and activists drew global attention after images of armed officers using tear gas on children as young as 8 were published in the media, prompting some on social media to express their outrage via the hashtag #OccupyPlayGround. Kenyan officials condemned the use of the gas against children. *Photograph by Dai Kurokawa—EPA*

THE EXPLAINER

The Next Step in U.S.-India Relations

President Barack Obama will travel to New Delhi to attend the country's Republic Day parade on Jan. 26 and hold talks with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, as the U.S. seeks to reaffirm its ties with the world's largest democracy. Here are the key issues facing the two countries as their leaders meet:



Trade

With the IMF predicting that India will be the world's fastest-growing large economy in 2016, the leaders will build on an agreement to boost bilateral trade from around $100 billion to $500 billion over several years by discussing how U.S. companies might more easily invest in India.



Climate change

Obama is likely to seek Modi's backing for a new global climate-change treaty to replace the 1997 Kyoto Protocol at an international summit in Paris that is set to begin in November. The approval of India, the world's third largest carbon polluter, is seen as key to securing a new accord.



Defense

The U.S. recently replaced Russia as India's biggest supplier of arms, with exports totaling nearly $2 billion in 2013. The two countries are expected to formally renew a 10-year defense-cooperation pact, firming up a key strategic alliance in South Asia to counter China's influence.

WORLD

50%

Share of the world's wealth that will be held by the richest 1% across the globe by 2016, according to a report from the antipoverty charity Oxfam



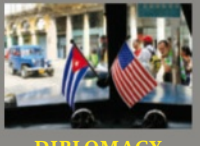
Trending In



VIOLENCE
Renewed clashes in Ukraine between government forces and pro-Russia rebels threatened chances for long-term peace as Russian, Ukrainian, German and French Foreign Ministers gathered for talks on Jan. 21.



CONTROVERSY
Saly Greige *(second from left)*, winner of the Miss Lebanon pageant, was criticized by Lebanese media after a photo of her with Miss Israel Doron Matalon was posted on social media. Greige said Matalon unexpectedly "jumped in" the shot, taken at the Miss Universe pageant in Miami.



DIPLOMACY
Cuba told the U.S. that it wants to be removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism as a condition for restoring bilateral relations, as face-to-face talks aimed at normalizing trade and diplomatic ties began in Havana on Jan. 21.

YEMEN, VIOLENCE: REUTERS; FRANCE, WORLD: GETTY IMAGES; CONTROVERSY: INSTAGRAM/DORONMATALON; DIPLOMACY: AP



China's Bad Crowd Beijing has fostered trade ties but lacks reliable allies

By Ian Bremmer



AS CHINA CONTINUES ITS RISE, BEIJING will need strong allies. That's a problem, because it doesn't have any. True, China has become the lead trade partner for more than 100 countries around the world. But when it comes to the heavy lifting of great-power foreign policy, there's a big difference between friends and business partners.

Which governments hold any sort of ideological affinity with China? Rogues like North Korea, Venezuela, Sudan and Zimbabwe top the list. Not exactly an all-star team of international influence. Nor can much good come to China from getting too deeply involved with those troubled countries.

What about Russia? Moscow can offer Beijing long-term energy supplies and help China contain the U.S. in Asia. But Europe, America and Japan will remain China's largest trade partners for the foreseeable future. Russia doesn't come close, and that limits China's willingness to join Vladimir Putin in his efforts to antagonize the West. China and Russia also regularly jostle for influence in the Central Asian states that lie between them.

And there's more for Beijing to worry about.

1 ▸ Venezuela is a basket case

In early January, China agreed to invest $20 billion to support the Venezuelan government. But Beijing may just be throwing good money after bad. President Nicolás Maduro's approval rating has cliff-dived to 22%. The economy is in shambles, and the inflation rate is among the highest in the world. If oil stays cheap, Venezuela is probably headed for default.

2 ▸ Sri Lanka shifts direction

China's heavy bet on its friendship with Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa included more than $4 billion in Chinese-backed investments. In 2014, for the first time ever, Chinese submarines docked in Sri Lanka—at a Chinese-owned and operated port—irritating China's rival India. But in a recent election, former Health Minister Maithripala Sirisena campaigned hard against Rajapaksa's pro-Beijing policies and won, robbing China of a reliable ally.

3 ▸ North Korea is needy

No other country is more economically dependent on China, which provides nearly 90% of North Korea's energy imports and most of its food supplies. In 2013, China accounted for nearly 80% of North Korea's $8.6 billion in total trade. What does China get in return? Relative peace and quiet. For now.

4 ▸ Bad bets in Sudan

China put high stakes on Sudan in recent decades, spending billions on oil pipelines to bring crude from southern fields to northern ports that can ship it on to China. Then a civil war threatened China's investment, and in 2011 Sudan split in two. Now Beijing must manage conflicts in oil-rich but landlocked South Sudan, where a surge in violence has killed more than 10,000 people and displaced more than 1 million. A vanguard of Chinese peacekeepers arrived in early January, and some 700 Chinese infantry are due to arrive by April.

5 ▸ Cuba and Burma are making new friends

Some of the most isolated regimes in the world are opening up—and trying to shed their dependence on Beijing. China is Cuba's largest trade partner and its biggest creditor, but normalized relations with the U.S. could open the door to game-changing moves between Havana and Washington. China is still Burma's largest trade partner and its biggest supplier of weapons. But since the country launched democratic reforms in 2011, players like Japan and Singapore have gained an investment foothold.

Foreign-affairs columnist Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy. His next book, Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World, *will be published in May*

ILLUSTRATION BY MATT CHASE FOR TIME

© 2015 SAP SE or an SAP affiliate company. All rights reserved.



COMPLEXITY

HOPES YOU DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING IMPORTANT PLANNED FOR THIS WEEKEND.



SIMPLE

HAS A LIFE.

Complexity wastes up to 40% of your people's workweek, robbing them of the weekends they deserve, and the love they used to have for their jobs. Are you doing everything you can to help your business run simple? Find out more at **sap.com/runsimple**

SAP **Run Simple**

Spotlight

Troubled Waters

New reports on the state of the oceans paint a grim picture

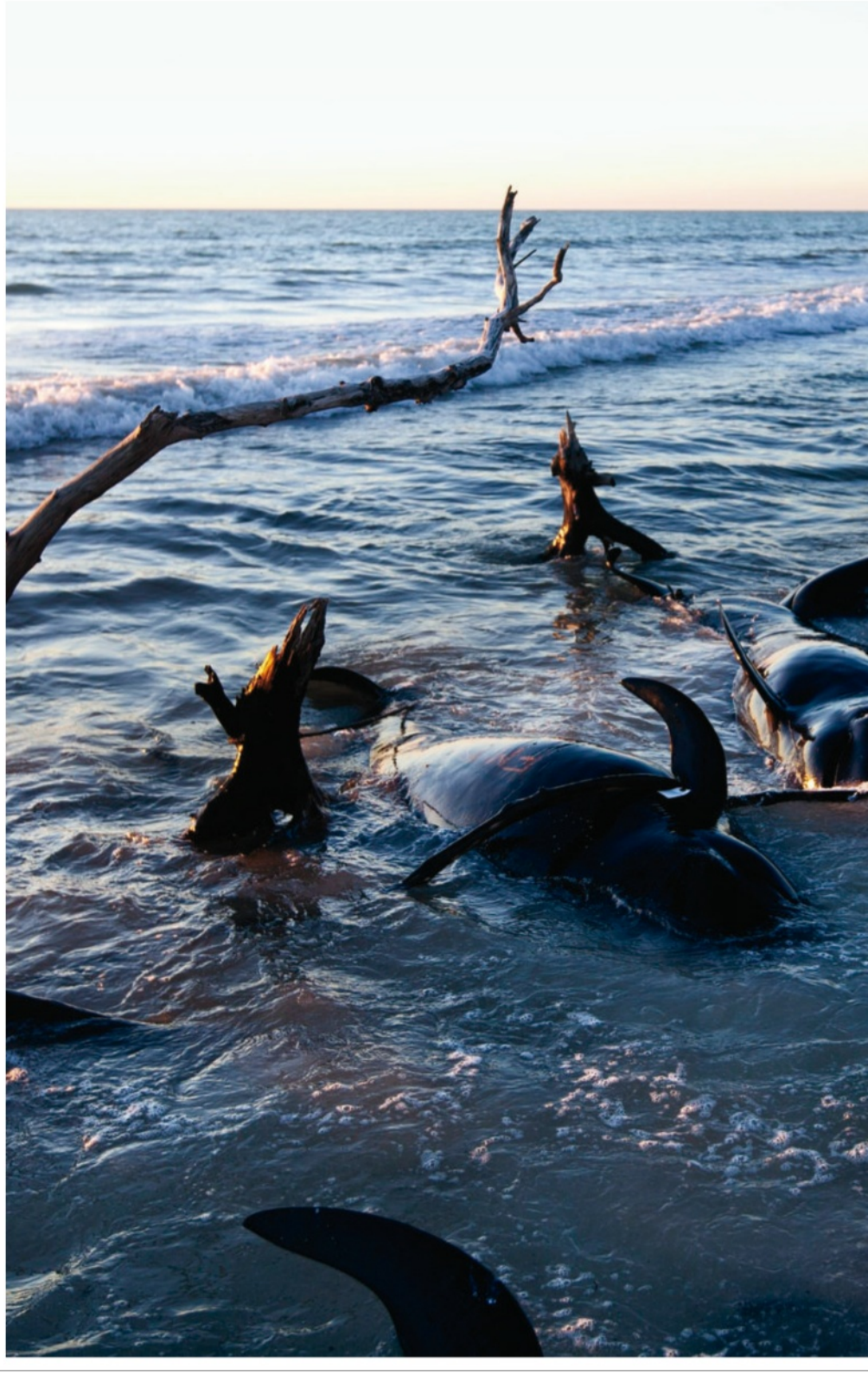
BY JEFFREY KLUGER

STAND ON A BEACH AT SUNSET AND you can almost convince yourself that all is well beneath the waves. But three new studies reveal just how sick the oceans are—and how big a role humans are playing.

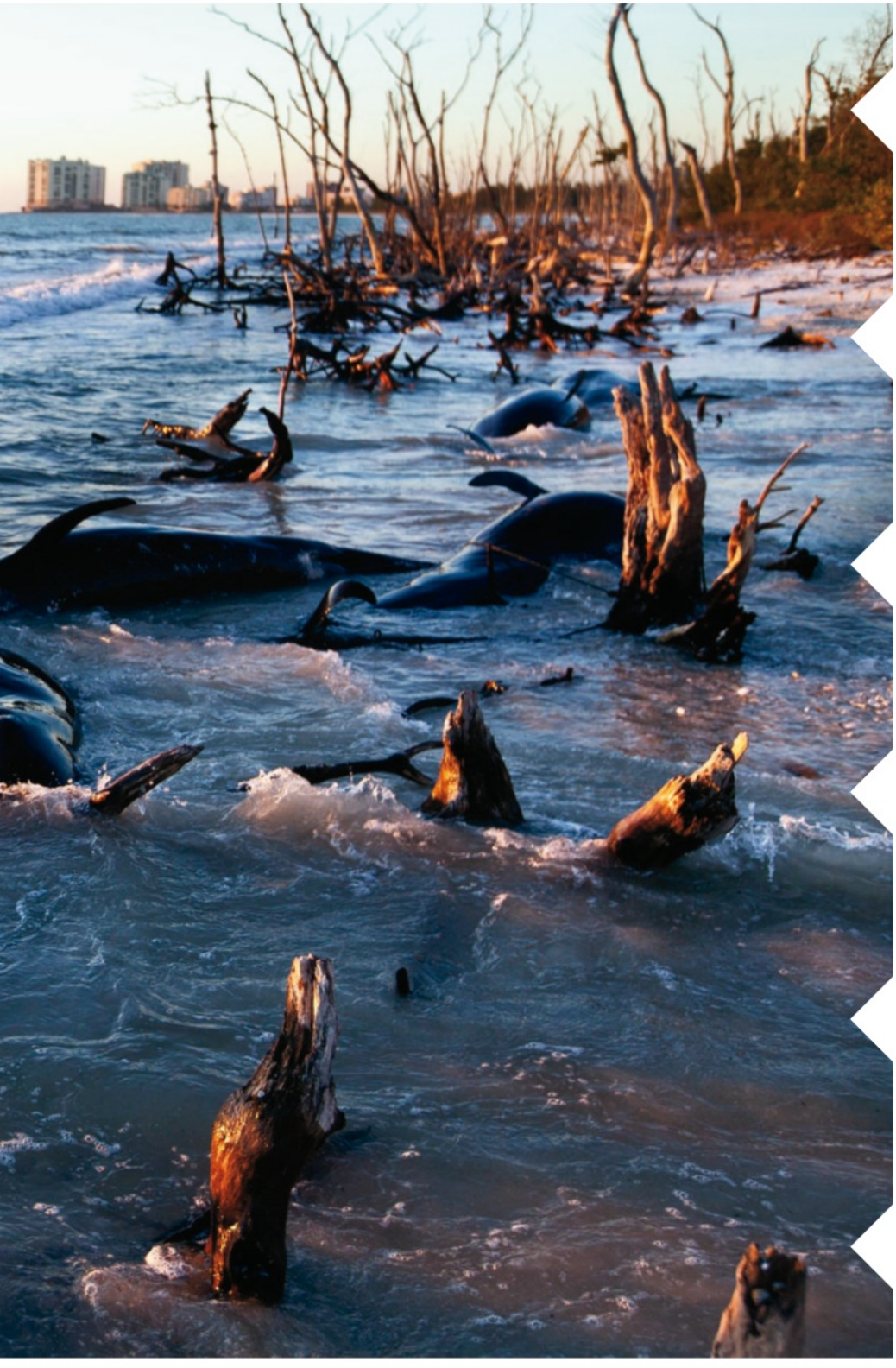
Start with climate change: according to a report from NASA and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2014 was the hottest year on record. Of the 10 warmest years since 1880, nine were in the 2000s, and the one that missed—1998—came close.

When temperatures rise, polar ice melts. A second study, in the journal *Nature*, showed that the rate of sea-level rise has been 25% faster than previously thought. Even an inch of additional sea level represents 2 quadrillion gal. of water—enough to fill 3 billion Olympic-size swimming pools—that can threaten coastlines.

Finally, a study in *Science* warned that worldwide, the oceans are facing "a major extinction event." Coral reefs are dying, fish stocks are collapsing, seas are acidifying, and surviving species are migrating to cleaner, cooler waters wherever they can find them. The oceans were here for 3.8 billion years before humans arrived. It has not, alas, taken us nearly as long to make a mess of them.



Casualty count *Twenty-five pilot whales beached themselves on Kice Island off southwest Florida in 2014. Sickness related to environmental problems can trigger beachings, which are on the rise*



RISING TEMPERATURES

The oceans, like the rest of the planet, set a **temperature record** in 2014, at 60.9°F (16°C), or 1.03°F above the 20th century average. Acidity is up as well—a bad combination for sea life.

CORAL-REEF DECLINE

Heat and acidity are also bad for coral reefs, which have **declined by 40%** in some areas since the 1970s. Coral organisms reproduce just once a year, making it hard for reefs to bounce back.

HABITAT LOSS

The sicker the oceans get, the more of their **habitable regions** vanish. Loss of aquatic habitats is mirroring the earlier pattern on land, which began with the Industrial Revolution and continues today.

SEAFLOOR SCRAPING

Bottom-trawling nets, which scrape up anything in their path in pursuit of fish, have left their mark on **20 million sq. mi.** (52 million sq km) of seafloor.

FISH MIGRATION

Fish flee existing habitats in search of better ones. **Atlantic sea bass,** for example, are migrating north to cooler waters—but the heat will chase them there.

SEABED MINING

Fifteen years ago, there was little resource exploitation on the ocean floor. Now **460,000 sq. mi.** (1.2 million sq km) of sea bottom is under contract to mining operations.

CAROLINA HIDALGO—NAPLES DAILY NEWS/AP

Nation



Law of the Land The Supreme Court is poised to settle the gay-marriage fight once and for all

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

THOSE WHO SAY AMERICAN POLITICS IS gridlocked aren't looking in the right places. When the Supreme Court decides once and for all the issue of same-sex marriage—the Justices announced on Jan. 16 that they are taking up the matter—they will complete one of the most rapid and dramatic political shifts in U.S. history.

Consider: less than 20 years ago, states were free to put same-sex couples in jail for the crime of private, consensual sexual activity. No jurisdiction in the world recognized same-sex marriages—but just in case, Congress passed, and Democrat Bill Clinton signed, a law banning federal recognition of such unions. The constitution of Colorado, a swing state, had been amended to forbid any legal protections for homosexual rights.

Now there's little doubt that by summer, same-sex-marriage rights will be the law of the land. The die was cast in 1996, when the Supreme Court struck down Colorado's law, ruling for the first time that gay people cannot be discriminated against through the law, no matter what the majority of voters might think. In 2003, the court went further, ruling that moral teachings are not sufficient reason to deny homosexuals the freedom to form intimate relationships.

Those two concepts led directly to the 2013 opinion in which the Justices—the same nine who will decide this year's case—struck down the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) signed by Clinton. The plaintiff in that case was a lesbian spouse whose marriage was recognized under New York law. The court ruled that the Constitution bars the federal government from treating opposite-sex marriages differently from same-sex marriages in states that legalize both.

Now the court will apply the same reasoning to state laws. Does the Constitution allow states to discriminate when Congress cannot? Can the 14 states that still ban same-sex unions refuse to recognize those performed in other states?

A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS ARE WILLING, EVEN EAGER, TO SEE THE COURT TAKE THE FINAL STEP

In other words, suppose that two couples who were lawfully married in, say, Utah both move to Ohio. Can officials in Ohio refuse to recognize one of the marriages—the two-husband marriage—while recognizing the union of husband and wife?

Justice Anthony Kennedy, the dominant voice in the court's gay-rights cases for two decades, left no doubt about his thinking in his 2013 majority opinion: "No legitimate purpose" exists to justify a law "to disparage and to injure" same-sex couples. DOMA "instructs all federal officials, and indeed all persons with whom same-sex couples interact, including their own children, that their marriage is less worthy than the marriages of others."

The implications of such strong language are clear. Even some of the most conservative courts of appeal have struck down state marriage bans in the wake of the 2013 ruling. Earlier this term, the Supreme Court declined to take up the issue, for the simple reason that lower-court judges were arriving at the same decision. Where there was no dispute, the high court saw no need to step in.

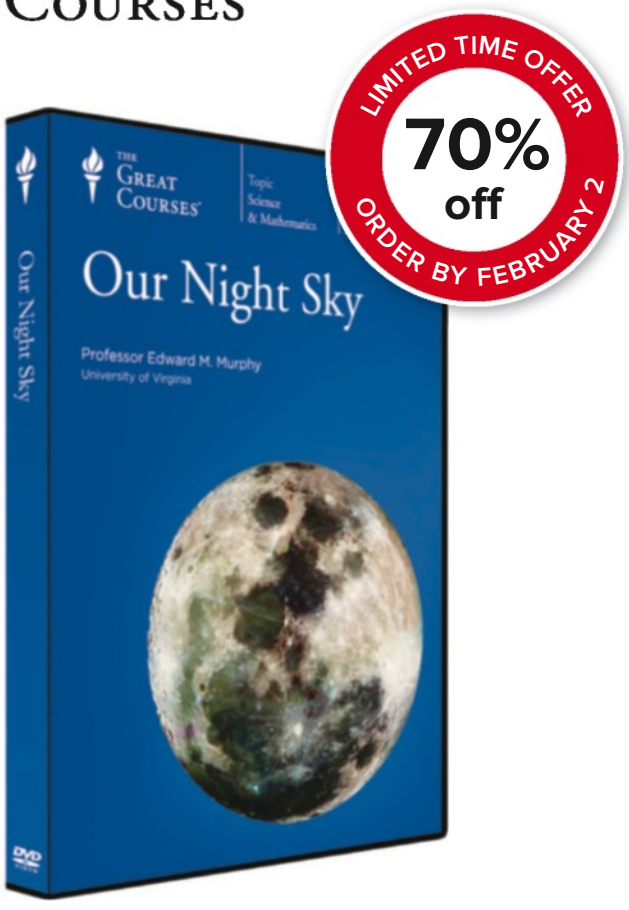
But last fall, a panel of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals—with jurisdiction over Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan and Tennessee—forced the high court's hand. Upholding state bans in its domain, the Sixth Circuit relied on a one-sentence ruling by the Supreme Court in 1972. In that case, a Minnesota law-school student argued that he had a right to marry his boyfriend; the justices said that the Constitution had no bearing on the question.

That thin precedent won't survive. It defies belief to think that the same Justices who joined Kennedy's 2013 opinion, with its emphasis on the equal dignity of same-sex couples, would allow gay marriage to spread from coast to coast, then turn around and enforce state bans. Such a ruling would potentially invalidate thousands of unions.

Polls show that a majority of Americans are willing, even eager, to see the court take the final step. From impossible to inevitable, the high court and the American people have moved together, just the way politics is supposed to happen. ■

DAVID POLLER—ZUMA PRESS

THE GREAT COURSES®



Learn How to Become an Expert Stargazer

For thousands of years, the star-filled sky has been a source of wonder, discovery, entertainment, and instruction. All you need to feel at home in its limitless expanse is **Our Night Sky**, a richly illustrated 12-lecture course that gives you an unrivaled tour around the sky—all while teaching you about the science, technology, and pure pleasure of stargazing. With award-winning astronomer and professor Edward M. Murphy, you'll learn how to use a star map to orient yourself at any date and time; how to read coordinates to locate planets, constellations, and other objects; how to select the best equipment; and more.

From asteroids to the zodiac, from the Big Dipper to variable stars, **Our Night Sky** provides a comprehensive overview of what there is to see and the best way to see it, whether you are a novice observer or an old hand at astronomy.

Offer expires 02/02/15

THEGREATCOURSES.COM/7TME

1-800-832-2412

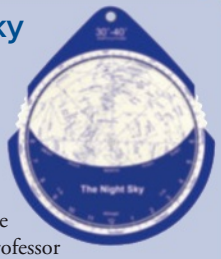
Our Night Sky

Taught by Professor Edward M. Murphy
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

LECTURE TITLES

1. The Constellations and Their Stars
2. Seeing and Navigating the Sky
3. Using Binoculars and Backyard Telescopes
4. Observing the Moon and the Sun
5. Observing the Planets with a Telescope
6. Meteor Showers, Comets, Eclipses, and More
7. The Northern Sky and the North Celestial Pole
8. The Fall Sky
9. The Winter Sky
10. The Spring Sky
11. The Summer Sky
12. The Southern Sky and the Milky Way

The Night Sky Planisphere included FREE!



Along with this course, you will receive the same Night Sky Planisphere Star Chart used by Professor Murphy throughout his lectures. This sturdy, easy-to-use star finder is an invaluable aid for locating major constellations and stars visible in the Northern Hemisphere.

Our Night Sky
Course no. 1846 | 12 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE $155

DVD ~~$199.95~~ NOW $44.95
+$5 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee
Priority Code: 105663

For 24 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free mobile apps for iPad, iPhone, or Android. Over 500 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.



THE AIR IN THERE Deflategate adds fuel to the fire of Patriot haters

Last Shot? The clock is ticking on a superstar

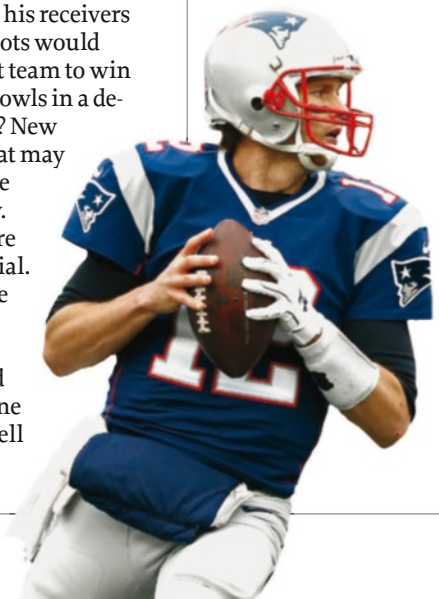
BY SEAN GREGORY

TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR TOM Brady. This summer, the Patriots' star quarterback turns 38—at least a decade older than the average NFL player. And as great as New England has been with Brady under center—it's hard enough to win one Super Bowl, let alone three—its most recent title came in 2005. Its last two tries, against the underdog New York Giants in 2008 and 2012, ended in crushing losses.

Super Bowl XLIX, on Feb. 1 in Glendale, Ariz., could be Brady's last shot to match his idol, Joe Montana, and Steelers great Terry Bradshaw as the only quarterbacks to win four Super Bowl titles. Joining that club while playing in the current NFL, which is engineered for parity, would be a singular achievement.

New England's opponent, Seattle, won't make it easy. The defending Super Bowl champs were down by 12 with a little over two minutes left in the NFC championship game yet rallied to win in overtime. The Seahawks gave up the fewest yards per play in the NFL this season, and their physical defenders could give Brady and his receivers fits. Beating the Patriots would make Seattle the first team to win back-to-back Super Bowls in a decade. The last to do it? New England, back in what may come to be seen as the heyday of its dynasty.

All Super Bowls are designed to feel special. This one deserves the hype. If Brady *(right)* can defy Seattle's bruising defense and lead the Patriots to one more title, he may well be the best quarterback of all time.



CONTROVERSY

Deflated

First there was Spygate. In 2007, New England was punished by the NFL after it was caught taping an opposing team's signals. Now one of the league's most successful—and resented—franchises is facing a fresh controversy: Deflategate, so named because 11 of the 12 footballs the Patriots used in their 45-7 AFC championship win had reportedly about 2 lb. less pressure than the required 12.5 to 13.5 lb. per sq. in. (Some background: NFL teams supply the balls they use on offense and the referee inspects them before the game; they are returned to the team once the ref signs off.) Since a softer ball is easier to grip, the NFL is investigating if the air was deliberately let out.

To critics, Deflategate is further evidence that there's more to the Patriot Way than hard work. "11 of 12 balls under-inflated can anyone spell cheating!!!" tweeted Hall of Famer Jerry Rice. It doesn't help that Tom Brady expressed a fondness for underinflated balls in a 2011 interview.

Which doesn't prove that the team did it. Falling temperatures, for one, can lower air pressure. And it's unlikely the balls meant too much in such a lopsided game. But no matter what the NFL finds, the Patriots' record book will have a fresh footnote.



ROB GRONKOWSKI

33.4

Points the Patriots have scored per game since Oct. 5. The potent offense will face a tough test against Seattle. In their past eight games, the Seahawks have allowed an average of just 9.9 points.

SCORECARD

3 Players to Watch on Super Sunday



RICHARD SHERMAN Seattle's loudmouthed All-Pro cornerback is fighting an **elbow strain.** Will New England target him?



JULIAN EDELMAN Brady's favorite receiver in the AFC title game is a versatile weapon: a former college QB, Edelman even threw a **touchdown pass** earlier in the playoffs.



RUSSELL WILSON Which version of the Seattle QB will show up? The one who threw four picks in the NFC title game or the one who redeemed them by leading a **magical comeback?**

FOOTBALL: STEPHEN LEWIS—ART+COMMERCE; BRADY, SHERMAN, EDELMAN, WILSON, GRONKOWSKI: GETTY IMAGES

TheVault

SEARCH ANY POINT IN TIME



Visit the digital archive and explore stories, photos, and ads, from 1923 to the present.

Go to www.TIME.com/vault

©2015 Time Inc. TIME is a trademark of Time Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

Tech

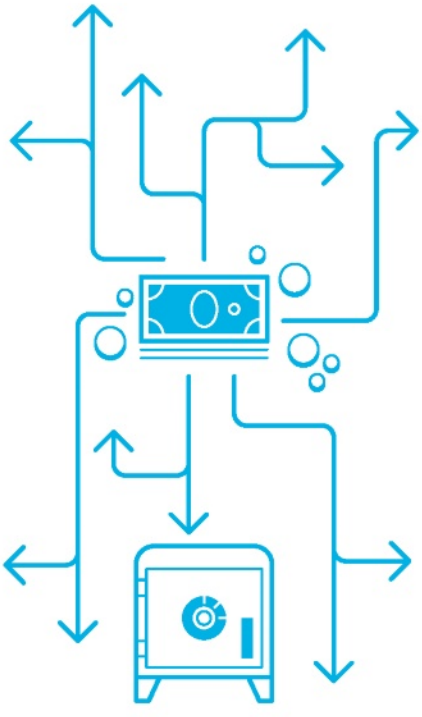
Something Ventured New startups are being primed by a major boom in funding

BY ALEX FITZPATRICK

IT'S RAINING CASH IN SILICON VALLEY AGAIN. ACCORDING TO data released on Jan. 15 by Dow Jones VentureSource, venture-capital investment in the U.S. reached $51.12 billion in 2014, a 47% jump from the previous year. That's the highest level since 2000, during the peak of the first dotcom boom.

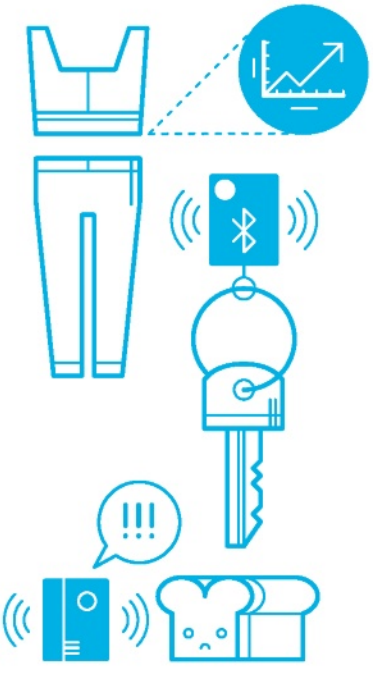
To be sure, a lot of money is funneling into mature start-ups whose names are familiar to many. Last year, for example, messaging app SnapChat raised $458.6 million, and ride-sharing service Uber brought in $1.2 billion—twice. In 2014 there were 47 such megadeals, according to Mark McCaffrey, an analyst with professional-services firm PricewaterhouseCoopers—nearly triple the number in 2013.

Still, venture capitalists are famous for obsessing over the next disruptive business idea or technological innovation. And that means young firms are benefiting from the money boom too. "More capital has been available than in over a decade," explains Rory Eakin, founder of CircleUp, a startup that helps other startups find early-stage investors online. Venture capitalists are also increasingly competing with hedge funds and mutual funds for a piece of newer outfits, notes McCaffrey. Data from Dow Jones show which areas investors are betting will heat up next. Here's a closer look.



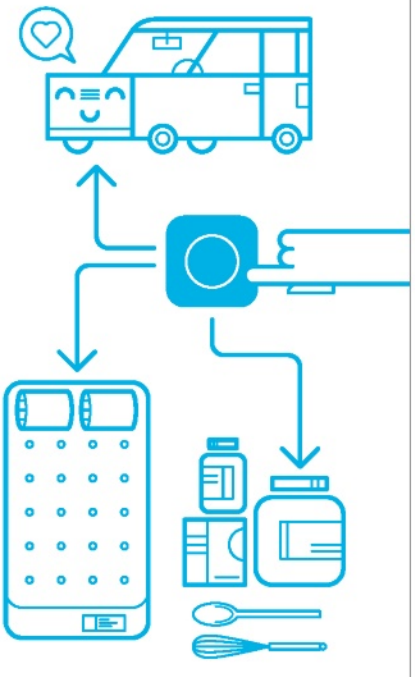
FINANCE FOR ALL

The biggest slice of 2014 venture funding, some $13.7 billion, went to companies attempting to upend the way people save or invest. Of particular interest: millennials and their money. Robinhood, a no-fee stock-trading app aimed squarely at the young, raised $13 million. (Investors include actor Jared Leto and rapper Snoop Dogg.) Acorns, which pools users' loose change into tiny investments, raised $8.3 million.



SMARTER GADGETS

Hardwaremakers, always a popular crowd in Silicon Valley, brought in $12.3 billion. Last year, investors seemed enamored of devices that make consumers' lives simpler and healthier. Tile, a Bluetooth-enabled card that helps you locate missing keys with your smartphone, for instance, raised $13 million. And OMsignal, a Canadian company that puts fitness-tracking tech into clothing, received $10 million in funding.



APPS FOR ANYTHING

Driven by the ubiquity of smartphones, appmakers hauled in $11.9 billion to change everything from the way you kit out your house to how you make dinner. Car-sharing service Getaround got a round of $24 million. Casper, an innovative mattress company, nabbed $13.1 million. And Plated, which prepares and delivers ingredients to aspiring home chefs, raised nearly $22 million.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME


I diagnose and evaluate. My patients and my practice.
I create invoices and sync appointments from anywhere.
I keep my feet firmly planted in the mud.
Even as I manage it all from the cloud.
I run on QuickBooks®. That's how I OWN IT.
ECKERT
intuit QuickBooks.
OWN IT.
©2015 Intuit Inc. All rights reserved.

Health



Unscrambling The Egg

How to decode confusing label claims

BY MANDY OAKLANDER AND ANITA HAMILTON

IF YOU'RE NOT CONFUSED about which eggs to buy, perhaps you're not paying close enough attention to the cold case at the supermarket. The growing number of varieties and label claims—from the seemingly clear "free-range" to the more puzzling "pasture-raised"—can overwhelm even a savvy, health-conscious shopper. And as of January 2015, there's a new label popping up on cartons: "California Shell Egg Food Safety Compliant."

In a landmark move, California has mandated that all eggs produced or sold in the state come from hens that have enough room to flap their wings without bumping feathers. "CA SEFS Compliant" is the seal that shows that the eggs you're buying adhere to those rules. Even if you live outside the Golden State, you'll likely start seeing the label on cartons across the country.

What's tricky about many of the labels on egg cartons, however, is that unlike "CA SEFS" and "USDA Organic," many of the claims have no legal definition—which means you aren't necessarily getting what you think you're paying extra for.

There's finally consensus that, yes, your favorite breakfast food really is good for you. To find out which labels are worth shelling out for, we turned to food and farm experts. Here's a guide to seven key claims you're likely to see on egg cartons.

1. OMEGA-3 ENRICHED
Eggs from hens whose feed has been boosted with flax, algae or fish oil contain more fatty acids. But to load up on omega-3s, says dietitian Keri Gans, "you are probably better off eating lots of fish, nuts and seeds."

2. USDA ORGANIC
One of the only claims with real teeth, this refers to eggs from uncaged hens that have outdoor access and a pesticide-free diet. Farms are checked regularly for compliance.

3. VEGETARIAN
Hens are fed corn and soy but no animal protein. Since hens will naturally chow down on bugs, this claim may also imply that they have no outdoor foraging access, says the Humane Society.

4. CAGE-FREE
It's not necessarily as pampering as it sounds. "They can be packed in as tightly as people on the subway, but they are not in a cage," says Gans. There's no rule about how much space the hens get, but companies can receive voluntary certification.

5. FREE-RANGE
Cage-free, plus a door to the outside world. It's up to the hen if she wants to cross through. Free-range poultry has a legal definition, but when it comes to eggs, there's none.

6. CA SEFS COMPLIANT
Hens have enough room to lie, stand, turn around and spread their wings without touching their fellow fowl. State farm inspectors check for compliance. Violations are misdemeanors.

7. PASTURE-RAISED
There is no legal definition here either, but some third-party labels, like "Certified Humane," ensure that hens get 108 sq. ft. of pasture for part of the day.

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY POST TYPOGRAPHY FOR TIME

PHARRELL WILLIAMS



NOMINATED FOR 6 GRAMMY AWARDS

INCLUDING

ALBUM OF THE YEAR

BEST POP SOLO PERFORMANCE

BEST MUSIC VIDEO

PHARRELLWILLIAMS.COM

COLUMBIA

i am OTHER

COLUMBIARECORDS.COM

Milestones



DIED

Tony Verna
Invented instant replay

Anyone who toils namelessly presenting the stars to the masses dreams of changing his field. But legendary CBS Sports producer Tony Verna, who died on Jan. 18 at age 81, was the rare man who could say he actually pulled it off. Verna's now simple-seeming 1963 innovation—showing a play again, just after it happened—revolutionized the viewer's experience. Before, replays came only at halftime. Thanks to Verna, fans who had missed a play could immediately catch up.

Instant replay also spawned two great legacies. The technology allowed fans, particularly in football, to understand what they had just seen. Announcers and color commentators could highlight just how much choreography preceded each dozen-man mob. Linemen could shine. And instant replay facilitated official review, a process whose applications have only grown broader with time. All four of the major American pro sports now employ some form of video review; the bad calls that survive are exceptions. In a 2013 interview, Verna lamented the scarce attention he had received for his 50-year-old idea. Upon further review, he changed sports forever. —JACK DICKEY

INSTANT REPLAY



Army-Navy 1963
On the first telecast to feature replay, announcers had to explain it to fans



Don Denkinger game
Game 6 of the 1985 World Series featured a blown ninth-inning call; fans knew



"Tuck rule" game
Tom Brady's overturned fumble helped the Pats inch closer to the Super Bowl

DIED
Tootsie Roll Industries Inc. chairman and CEO **Melvin Gordon,** 95, who had helmed the company since 1962 and was one of the oldest CEOs in America. His wife Ellen Gordon will replace him at the candy company.

DIED
Dallas Taylor, 66, drummer for Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young. He played with the band until 1970 and appeared with them at Woodstock.

DROPPED
By British newspaper the *Sun,* the practice of putting topless photos on its infamous **Page 3.** The oft-criticized feature had run for 44 years and will continue online.

SET
By **Lindsey Vonn,** a new record for the most World Cup wins by a female skier. Her boyfriend Tiger Woods surprised her by appearing in the crowd to celebrate her 63rd title.

DIED
Kim Fowley, 75, rock-'n'-roll producer, singer, songwriter and manager, who is best known for putting together the all-female band the Runaways.

DIED
Alberto Nisman, 51, Argentine prosecutor, who was leading the inquiry into a 1994 bombing of a Jewish center. He accused officials of working with Iran to cover up the guilty parties and was due to testify the day after his mysterious death, which is now being investigated.

RECORD SET

Barbra Streisand
Platinum queen

"I'm the greatest star/ I am by far/ But no one knows it!"

So sang Barbra Streisand in her breakout role as Fanny Brice in *Funny Girl* on Broadway in 1964. Half a century later, there's no one who doesn't know of her stardom. But this year saw it reach new heights.

Her album of duets, *Partners,* went platinum in January, selling its millionth copy four months after its debut. That means Streisand has bested her own record as the woman with the most platinum albums in history with a grand (running) total of 31. Reba McEntire trails her at a distant second with 19.

Streisand celebrated another significant success when *Partners* debuted at No. 1 on the *Billboard* 200 in September, making her the only artist to have at least one top album in six consecutive decades. (Cher holds the same distinction, but for singles rather than albums.)

Babs has three male acts to beat to hold the record of most platinum albums of all time: George Strait (at 33, within shooting distance), the Beatles (42) and Elvis Presley (52), who incidentally duets from the grave with Streisand on *Partners* in "Love Me Tender."

At 72, there's still some time to catch up—so don't rain on her parade. —SARAH BEGLEY



VERNA: STEPHANIE DIANI—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; STREISAND: KEVIN MAZUR—GETTY IMAGES; ARMY-NAVY: NEIL LEIFER—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED; DENKINGER: KEITH TORRIE—GETTY IMAGES; BRADY: MATT CAMPBELL—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Amity Shlaes

Redistributor in Chief

Obama is squandering a chance to make a true Morning in America possible

"A brighter future is ours to write," President Obama said in the State of the Union address. But the proposals Obama made in the speech certainly won't foster a new Morning in America—and they might even prevent one. The failure here lies not so much in the plan but in the presidential emphasis on engineering economic growth.

The fact is that a brighter future is *never* ours to write. As irritating as it may seem, the biggest opportunities tend to just happen to the country. The only thing lawmakers can do is leave enough freedom in the business or personal sphere that people, especially the middle class, are in the frame of mind to exploit those opportunities.

Consider recent waves of breakthrough growth. The fracking boom surprised even the sagest Texas energy hand. The Internet? Likewise unpredicted. Before that, there was the unawaited blockbuster of personal computers, a gift to the working class matched only by one other in memory—the indoor toilet.

The 2015 White House proposals leave scant play space for such serendipity. The President, for example, affirmed his veto of the project that is most likely to expand the energy boom, the Keystone pipeline. The capital-gains tax is the closest thing we have to a direct tax on enterprise. The President would increase its top rate to 28%. Just for good measure, the White House also advocates a dividend tax hike.

To defend itself, the White House notes that Reagan himself permitted the capital-gains rate to go up to 28%. What the White House does not mention is that the revenues from that 1986 hike fell short. The same disappointment is likely to await Obama.

But his plan for what to do with the revenue derived from all those one-time increases is where the President errs the most. The money is allocated for a $150 billion infrastructure improvement—part of which, in theory, might have a beneficial spillover effect. Highway construction, for example, in the style of Dwight Eisenhower, could indeed improve the stage upon which commerce occurs. But most infrastructure promises end up splintering into political miniprojects. And there's a great arrogance in assuming that such an outlay would actually be worth the cost. The stimulus program with which Obama debuted in 2009 certainly wasn't.

REMEMBER REAGAN?



RISE AND FALL

The capital-gains tax rate rose to 28% under Reagan, stayed at that level under George H.W. Bush, fell to 20% under Clinton and then dropped to 15% under George W. Bush



OVERHAUL

The $150 billion infrastructure plan that Obama laid out would be largely paid for by one-time revenue from ending business tax breaks

Some of the President's proposals for the middle class sound nice—for instance, free community college, though it won't be truly as "free" as the White House suggests. Still, what happens postcollege is what really matters. And what defines the middle class is the aspiration to rise to the upper middle class or (horrors) the ranks of the well-to-do.

The Obama plans hit such aspirants hard. The plans fail to remove a marriage penalty of tens of thousands of dollars, offering only a small joke of a credit for lower-earning couples. Even more damaging is the President's plan to kill the "step-up in basis" for inherited wealth. Some nonrich families have a second home somewhere in the woods. Obama's plan would force many children to sell such a house to pay the taxes due upon a parent's death.

It's easy to understand why President Obama tries to design his booms. By training he's a lawyer, not a businessman. In his engineering habit he also resembles the engineer Jimmy Carter or the "father of the Internet," Vice President Al Gore, who chased innovation rather than facilitating it. Conflicts abroad reinforce Obama's authoritarian tendencies. Segueing from the necessary job of Commander in Chief to redistributor in chief feels natural.

What might the President do to make that true Morning in America possible? First: Support Keystone after all.

Second: Push hard to make a currently temporary research-and-development credit permanent.

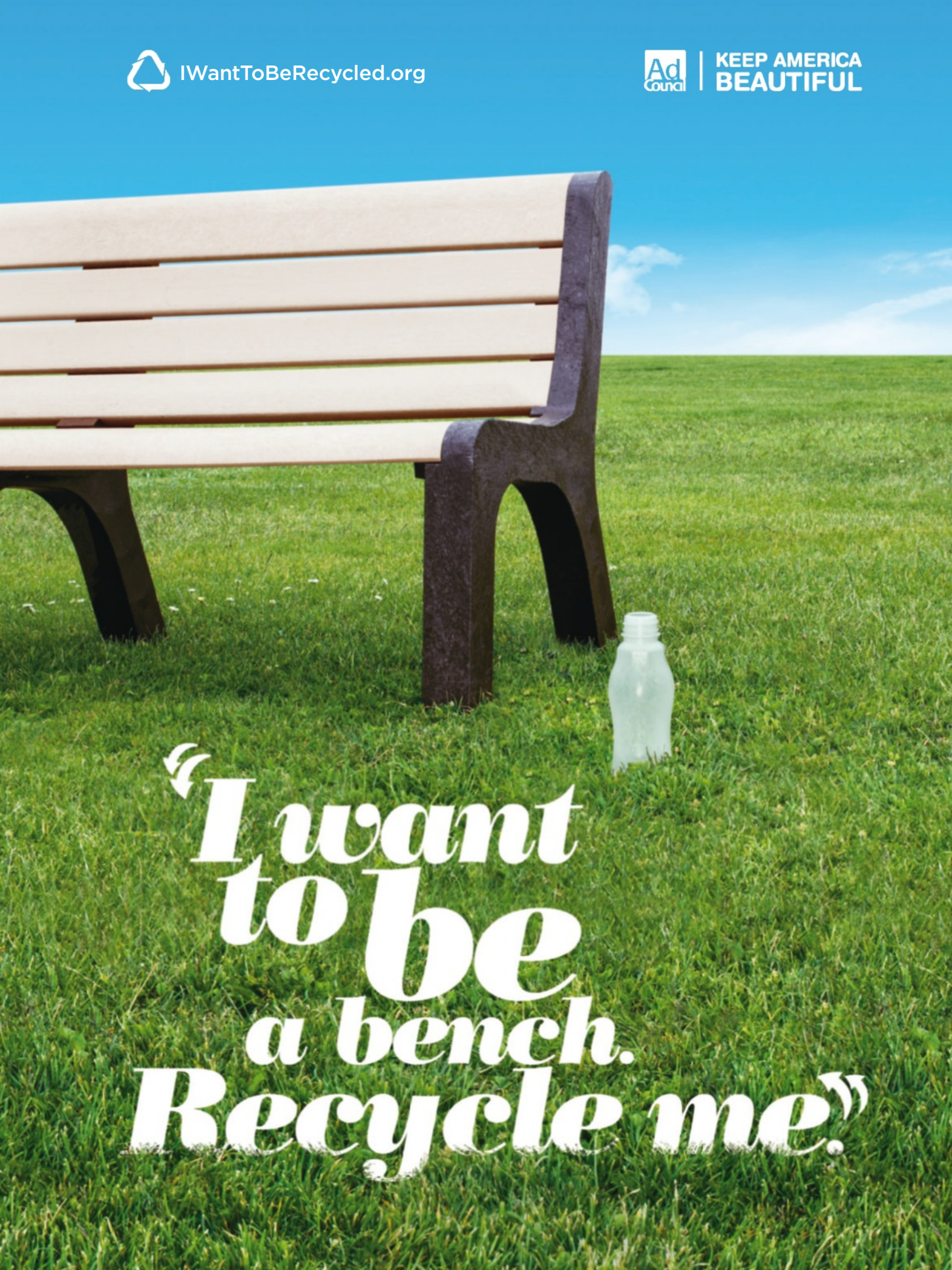
Third: Join Congress and cut the capital-gains tax permanently.

Finally: Permit citizens to partake of any coming boom by replicating Canada's tax-free savings accounts. The TFSAs, a more generous version of the U.S. Roth IRAs, enable citizens to save more and to take their money out without penalties.

To do all this, the President would have to open an eye to the curious and unpredictable nature of growth. Six years into his presidency, he hasn't. So yes, great opportunity lies ahead. The trouble is, our leader is preparing to squander it—and by accident. ■

Shlaes, who chairs the board of the Calvin Coolidge Presidential Foundation, is the author of The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression *and* Coolidge

REAGAN: FIONA HANSON—AP; OBAMA: TOM WILLIAMS—GETTY IMAGES


IWantToBeRecycled.org
Ad Council
KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL
"I want to be a bench. Recycle me."

Joe Klein

TO READ JOE'S BLOG POSTS, GO TO **time.com/swampland**

Rejoining the Battle

Barack Obama finds his purpose in a struggling couple from Minnesota



AMERICA, MEET REBEKAH ERLER. SHE was the one sitting between Michelle Obama and Jill Biden because she wrote a letter to the President, which provided the most compelling line of Obama's State of the Union speech: "We are a strong, tight-knit family who has made it through some very, very hard times." He repeated it four times, the last iteration a grand reference to the American "family." Indeed, we learned a lot about the Erler family during Obama's speech. She waited tables. Her husband Ben's construction business dried up after the 2008 crash, and he traveled long distances to do odd jobs. She went to community college and became an accountant. They had two sons. The rising economy brought a happy end to the story: Ben's remodeling business was growing again.

OBVIOUSLY, THE PRESIDENT THOUGHT THE Erlers were a good metaphor for the arc of his presidency. But they were more than that: they represent ground zero in American politics, the white working families who used to form the solid base of the Democratic Party, then began to slip away to the Republicans in the late 1960s—especially the men. (Ben wasn't in the First Lady's box with his wife, touching off a tweetnado.) And they were a perfect frame for Obama's speech, which was written to appeal to the Erlers of America.

There were twin sources of the white flight from the Democratic Party. One was the sense that Democrats were only interested in taking money from people like the Erlers and giving it to deadbeats, or feeding the government bureaucracy, personified by the post-office stereotype: slow-moving, sullen, entitled. The other was a matter of values: the Democrats were the counterculture party, an argument that is evaporating as the culture has moved on, accepting homosexuality, premarital sex and, soon, marijuana. The first argument remains strong, though. It was what propelled the Republican victory in 2014. Obamacare was perceived as classic "liberalism"—it took money from hardworking Americans and gave it to unhealthy deadbeats. Only it didn't: it gave subsidies to the working poor; the indigent were already covered by Medicaid.

The striking thing about Obama's latest round of proposals is how targeted they are: the centerpiece tax reforms take money from the wealthy and give it to middle-class taxpayers, people like the Erlers. You have to actually pay taxes to benefit from tax credits (except for the child-care deduction, which becomes a stipend for those who don't). Even Obama's free-community-college proposal might have been a boon to Rebekah as she struggled to learn accounting. This is quite the opposite of offering health insurance to a country that was already 85% covered. It is middle-class populism: money is taken from the wealthy and given to a broad swath of the population whose incomes have been stagnating for 30 years.

The Republicans will oppose this, but I suspect they may have a tough argument this time. Big Money is about as popular in this country as Big Government, and the sense that the rich don't pay their fair share (Exhibit A: Mitt Romney) is as strong as the sense that government wastes a lot of money. "Lowering tax bills for the middle class is a perfectly fine idea," says James Pethokoukis of the conservative American Enterprise Institute. "I would probably raise the money in a different way. [Obama] wants to increase the capital gains tax, which should be as low as possible. But we're only talking about $210 billion over 10 years, which is little more than a rounding error, given the size of the budget." There are other, more ambitious income-redistribution plans afoot. Congressman Chris Van Hollen, a Maryland Democrat, has proposed a 0.01% tax on stock transactions that would not only provide a $1,000 middle-class tax credit but also put a damper on the Wall Street casino trading that helped lead to the last crash. This is a public argument worth having. It will be at the center of the 2016 presidential campaign, if we're lucky.

IF WE'RE GOING TO HAVE ARGUMENTS, LET'S HAVE arguments," the President said. "But let's make them arguments worthy of this body and this country," another statement that may have struck home in Erler-world, where the latter-day bleat of American politics has come to seem sordid and silly. Obama's personal transformation over the past six months has been stunning. He almost seemed defeated and uncaring last summer, playing golf instead of honoring an American journalist who had been beheaded. He was rejected by his own party, and then the country, in the fall. He has been on the defensive through most of his second term. But he has resurrected himself through action—on immigration, on Cuba—and the still iffy buoyancy of the economy. Like the Erlers, he has been struck and stunned, but he seems ready, finally, to rejoin the battle. ■

THE PRESIDENT'S AGENDA, ASIDE FROM HIS TAX PLANS

PAID LEAVE

Obama wants millions of American workers to have the ability to earn seven days of paid family and medical leave every year

DATA HACKS

Obama proposes more transparency about when and how data hacks put consumers at risk

EMISSIONS

Continuing the fight against climate change, he also called for a reduction in methane emissions from the oil and gas industries



ROB CARR—GETTY IMAGES

ECONOMY

THE COST OF CHEAP GAS

It's the biggest news in the global economy right now: oil is cheaper than anytime since 2009. And the impact is as obvious as the sign at the corner service station, where gas is down to an average of $2.05 a gallon—**the equivalent of a $750 tax cut for every American household.** But oil is more than just the fuel in our tanks. It's the world's most valuable commodity, and ripples from the price crash reach everywhere. They can help create new jobs but also threaten existing ones, spur innovation or slow it, and lift entire nations while weakening others. In the following pages, TIME explores the ramifications of cheap oil for the U.S., the world—and you.

Illustrations by Ben Wiseman for TIME



THE U.S. OUTLOOK

CHEAPER OIL WILL PUT MONEY IN CONSUMERS' POCKETS—AND SHED NEW LIGHT ON THE QUALITY OF THE RECOVERY

At first look, the collapse in oil prices over the past year, from $107 per barrel in June to below $50 a barrel today, seems like the proverbial free lunch for American consumers. The decline in prices is the equivalent of a $125 billion tax cut. And it's effectively a progressive one, since the biggest beneficiaries will be working- and middle-class people who spend a disproportionate amount of their income on gas for their cars and heating fuel for their homes. American households with oil heat could save $767 each this winter. That cash can now be spent on a new car—or a washing machine, an electronic gadget, clothes or a few dinners out.

That should boost spending, and thus boost job creation, in a broad array of industries. Goldman Sachs estimates low oil prices could add as much as a half-point to U.S. GDP growth, which would push total growth up toward 3.5%—a level that should sustain the broad-based job creation we've seen over the past few months. In the previous two cases in which oil prices fell more than 50% when the U.S. was not in recession—in 1986 and again in the late 1990s—growth jumped the following year.

National average prices for regular gas

JULY 2008



TODAY



So why isn't cheap oil making the markets happy? There are two complicating factors. First, China is now the world's second largest economy and its most voracious energy consumer—and its economic slowdown has dented oil demand. Given that China has provided the majority of global growth since the 2008 financial crisis, Wall Street is spooked. The benefit from falling oil prices for U.S. consumers and companies may well be somewhat offset by a slower China, given that so many American businesses depend on sales in the Chinese market.

But there's another factor at play. Plunging oil prices are pressuring the American shale-oil and -gas producers responsible for the domestic energy boom—which comes with its own ramifications for the economy. Shale oil is relatively expensive to get out of the ground; much of it requires prices of around $70 a barrel to be economical. That's why a lot of future shale-oil production is already being slashed. A recent Goldman Sachs report estimated a 15% drop in spending within the U.S. oil business this year; London-based Capital Economics is estimating a much steeper decrease, as much as 60% to 70% in the first half of the year, if prices stay as low as they are. Lower investment means fewer jobs in the industry.

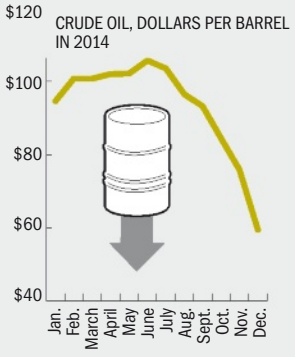
Most economists will say, rightly, that lower oil prices are on balance a short-term net gain to the U.S. economy. Not only is there a huge consumer windfall in the form of lower prices, but the domestic energy sector's share of jobs is really quite small, just 1.4% of total nonfarm employment in the U.S. Yet in a recovery that is producing jobs for Ph.D.s and burger flippers but little in between, energy-sector employment is one of the few bright spots for the middle class. Energy jobs pay more than double the average annual wage across all industries in America.

Those jobs help fuel others in their communities. The Manhattan Institute, a conservative New York–based think tank, has estimated that as many as 10 million jobs in the U.S.—and $400 billion in annual economic wealth—depend in some way on the shale-oil boom, many of them high-skill, high-pay factory jobs. The National Association of Manufacturers estimates that homegrown shale oil and gas will create another 1 million manufacturing jobs within the next decade, as the economies of scale and logistics of cheaper domestic energy encourage insourcing of factory jobs back to the U.S.

Exactly how the oil-price decline affects jobs, wages and growth over the next few months will tell us a lot about the U.S. recovery. Will consumers spend their savings from cheap gas and spur economic growth and job creation elsewhere? It looks likely, but when they spend on things like consumer gadgets, for instance, they're mostly supporting cheap factory jobs and well-paid engineers. In other words, the benefits go mainly to the top and bottom ends of the socioeconomic spectrum—right where they've been in the past decade. When falling oil prices cause energy producers to cut back, the U.S. will lose middle-class jobs—exactly the kind America needs to ensure the recovery lasts when prices bounce back. —RANA FOROOHAR

THE MATH OF CHEAP OIL

THE PRICE PLUNGED IN 2014—AND IT'S STILL FALLING. HERE'S WHAT CAUSED THE CRASH



TEXAS TAKES A HIT

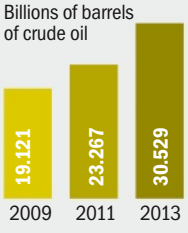
SHALE RICHES CREATED JOBS AND WEALTH. NOW THE STATE FACES LIFE AFTER THE BOOM



WHAT WE HAVE

1

DOMESTIC PRODUCTION SURGES DUE TO FRACKING, WHICH EXTRACTS OIL FROM SHALE. THIS BOOSTS U.S. OIL RESERVES ...



2

... WHILE OPEC STAYS THE COURSE

OPEC, the Saudi-dominated cartel, historically calibrates oil prices by adjusting the supply. Despite the glut, OPEC has not limited production.

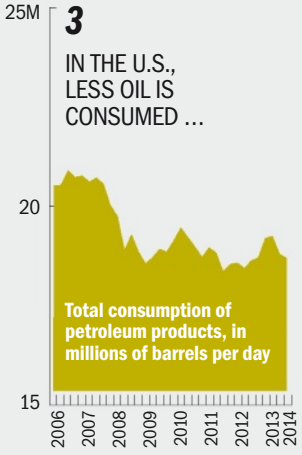
6.53%

Increase in world oil production from 2007 to 2013

WHAT WE USE

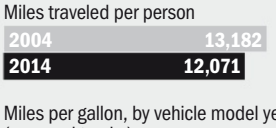
3

IN THE U.S., LESS OIL IS CONSUMED ...

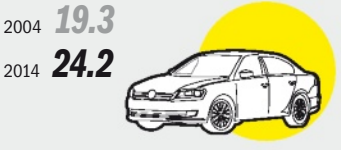


4

... THANKS, IN PART, TO AMERICANS' CHANGING DRIVING HABITS



Miles per gallon, by vehicle model year (cars and trucks)





IN TEXAS, THE PLUMMETING PRICE OF oil isn't cause for celebration. That's particularly so if you're a land man, one of the hustling claim hunters who have spent the past five years rooting through dusty documents in county courthouses and staking out small-town coffee shops seeking the holders of drilling rights to thousands of plots across the Texas shale-oil regions: the Permian, Eagle Ford, Barnett and Haynesville Bossier basins.

It has been the biggest land grab since the Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889, and it produced a gusher of new oil. There were 185,180 producing wells as of September 2014, up from 151,283 in 2006, according to the Railroad Commission of Texas. And thanks to hydraulic fracturing, which frees oil locked in shale rock, those wells produced. Texas alone added 2 million barrels of oil a day to the global market in the past four years, according to the Federal Reserve of Dallas. That's another Qatar's worth of crude.

But the quest for drilling rights has come to an abrupt halt. "Once prices drop below about $65 to $70 per barrel, much of the activity in the shale basins is not profitable," says Ray Perryman, principal of the Perryman Group, an economics consulting firm in Waco, Texas. Recently, that led Eagle Ford shale players to let go hundreds of land men (and

women), according to industry sources.

The company, like many others in the oil and gas sector, is also cutting its capital expenditures. Matador Resources is shutting down Eagle Ford rigs. Laredo Petroleum slashed its capital-expenditure budget to $525 million from $1 billion in 2014. "Texas is a slowdown of a hot economy. Drilling economies pulled up, rigging companies are stopping the drilling—you are going to see unemployment in those regions," says Detlef Hallermann, a petroleum engineer and a professor of finance at Texas A&M's Mays Business School.

Digging fewer new wells and closing marginal ones inevitably means fewer roustabouts and riggers and fracking crews, but it also means fewer jobs for everyone along the food chain. Shale regions will also take a pounding because of the reverse of the multiplier effect. (Other big fracking zones, like North Dakota's shale lands, will also feel the pain.) The shale boom created a housing boom, a hotel boom and a restaurant boom—and a labor shortage that pushed wages ever upward. The town of Midland in West Texas had the highest per capita income in the nation in 2013 at $83,000. It was a good place to sell backyard pools and high-end trucks.

Not so much now. Perryman's modeling projects annual job losses tied to the oil bust in the 125,000-to-175,000 range, depending on "how low and how long" oil prices remain depressed. The pain will be the greatest in the Eagle Ford play in South Texas and the Permian Basin in West Texas, he says. Houston, the capital of oil, will also get dinged.

But while job numbers will decline, production won't—at least not at first. Fracking is capital intensive, so the operators, ranging from huge outfits such as Anadarko to hundreds of private-equity-backed partnerships, have borrowed billions of dollars through junk bonds and private placements. Even if the wells aren't profitable, they can't be shut off—the bond payments still have to be made, so the cash is needed. There's also huge asset shuffle taking place as firms are forced to sell distressed drilling projects.

The localized financial structure of Texas shale wells means that the pain will be spread widely. In a typical setup, 20% to 25% of a well's revenue goes to the subsurface-rights holders in royalty payments, which are often shared by multiple generations of a family. So spending money will become a little scarcer. Cheap oil will also cost the University of Texas, whose $25.4 billion endowment—second only to Harvard's—has been fueled in part by revenue from wells on land it owns as well as donated wells. Even the price of champion cutting horses may suffer.

Falling oil is dropping the curtain on an extraordinary run for Texas, where unemployment rates in oil counties have shrunk to 2.3%, less than half the national average. Job growth in the energy sector has been five times the state's average, says the Fed. Since 2001, the Barnett Shale play alone added $120.2 billion to the state's economy, according to Perryman, and yielded some $4.5 billion in local taxes while contributing more than $6 billion to the state coffers.

Of course, oil booms and busts are as common to Texas as cowboy hats. "This is our fifth rodeo, and I think we'll work our way through it," Pioneer Natural Resources president Tim Dove said at a recent Goldman Sachs energy conference. Well, he will. And the Texas economy is certainly more diversified than it was during the last oil bust, in the mid-'90s, having expanded into microelectronics, computers, software and biotechnology, among other sectors.

Low oil prices aren't all bad for Texans. They will benefit from lower gasoline prices like everyone else, and so will industries that are heavy petroleum users, such as chemical-feedstock producers. And the state will still add jobs, albeit more slowly; Perryman is forecasting a net gain of about 200,000 to 225,000 jobs this year vs. the 440,000 created in the past 12 months.

Bottom line, the boom is over for the Lone Star State. When it comes to jobs and growth, Texas will have to suffer the indignity of looking more like the rest of America.

—BILL SAPORITO

Number of oil-drilling rigs in the U.S. in January 2015:

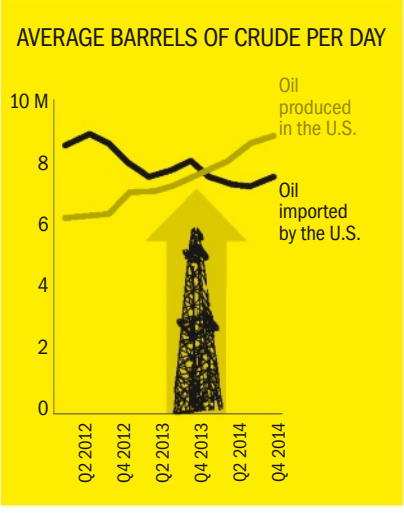
1,366



15% decrease from October 2014, a sign of a slowdown in future oil production

SHOULD THE U.S. EXPORT?

A DOMESTIC BONANZA HAS SOME LAWMAKERS RETHINKING 40 YEARS OF POLICY AGAINST SELLING AMERICAN CRUDE OVERSEAS



In the pre-Christmas doldrums last December, the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power gathered in its wood-paneled chambers for an unusual hearing. On the agenda: whether the U.S. should lift its long-standing ban on most crude-oil exports.

Even a few years ago, the suggestion would have been dismissed out of hand. Politicians on the left and right have long held that U.S. dependence on foreign oil is one of the gravest threats to national security. But as Republican Congressman Joe Barton of Texas noted at the December hearing, "It's a different world today." Technological advances like hydraulic fracturing and horizontal drilling have pushed domestic oil production to 9 million barrels per day in late 2014, up from 5 million in 2006. By some measures, America is now the world's top oil-producing nation. And the dramatic rise in domestic production, paired with tumbling oil prices, has sparked a new debate over the merits of an old policy. "The current energy revolution," says Republican Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, "creates an opportunity for our nation to take on a different kind of role—as a major energy producer and exporter."

One of the driving forces behind the push to lift the ban has been the U.S. petroleum industry, which is eager to tap into new markets for the abundance of light, sweet domestic crude produced in hot spots like North Dakota's Bakken formation. But beyond oil-industry lobbying, economists and energy experts have come to believe the policy is simply a relic. It dates to 1975, when the pain of the Arab oil embargo was fresh and the specter of further shortages haunted Capitol Hill. "The original logic doesn't have any bearing today," says Michael Levi, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

In a significant step, the U.S. Department of Commerce quietly loosened restrictions last year on the sale of condensate—a type of ultra-light oil—to foreign buyers. By some estimates the move could produce exports of up to 1 million barrels per day by the end of 2015. The milestone cheered export supporters, but the decision to make the change with little publicity underscored its slippery politics.

This isn't a typical partisan debate, though. It's a clash between powerful special interests on both sides of the political divide. It pits major oil companies against environmentalists, who are wary of more drilling, and oil refiners, who say easing the restrictions would increase costs. "There is justifiable concern that the price at the pump will go up if exports are permitted," says Jay Hauck, executive director of the CRUDE Coalition, a group of refiners.

A gusher of academic research suggests otherwise. "There's not much downside to changing the policy," says Jason Bordoff, a former adviser to President Obama who now serves as director of the Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University. Studies suggest it would give the U.S. flexibility in the global oil market and offer modest benefits to consumers. But that reality hasn't filtered down to voters, 7 in 10 of whom oppose allowing energy companies to export oil and gas to foreign countries, according to a recent study conducted for the left-leaning Center for American Progress.

As a result, many members of Congress who might like to relax the ban are fearful of being punished by voters when oil prices rise—as they inevitably will. If the Obama Administration doesn't act, Murkowski, chair of the Senate Energy Committee, plans to introduce legislation. But it's an open question when that may be. —ALEX ALTMAN

THE BIG LOSER

BLACK MARKETS. BREAD LINES. IN VENEZUELA, FALLING OIL PRICES MEAN A RECKONING FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

VENEZUELA'S ECONOMY IS IN TATTERS. Annual inflation is running at more than 60%. On the black market, the local currency has lost 65% of its value against the U.S. dollar in the past year. Foreign reserves have fallen around 30% in the past two years. Shortages, due in large part to importers' struggle to obtain hard currency, have led to ubiquitous lines for everyday goods. "This government is filth," says Antonia Rodríguez, a 60-year-old lab assistant, waiting in line for milk outside a Caracas supermarket on a recent Sunday morning. "There's no food! If Chávez were alive, this wouldn't be happening."

Former President Hugo Chávez lubricated his socialist revolution with hard cash from Venezuela's oil reserves, the world's largest. Some 96% of the country's foreign income is derived from selling oil. But Chávez is dead, and his successor, Nicolás Maduro—elected in April 2013—is paying the bill. The price of Venezuela's oil, composed of heavier crudes that fetch less than international benchmarks, last week averaged just over $39 a barrel. Economists estimate that Venezuela needs well over $100 a barrel to maintain its bloated spending. Venezuela may well default on its debt this year. Arguably no other country loses so big from cheap oil.

Last year, Maduro faced the biggest antigovernment protests in Venezuela in more than a decade. Now, with oil revenues in free fall, Maduro's popularity is down to 22% and looks to be falling. Even those who once supported Chávez, like Rodríguez, are unhappy with Maduro's handling of the economy. Two-time presidential candidate Henrique Capriles, a stalwart of the opposition, has called for

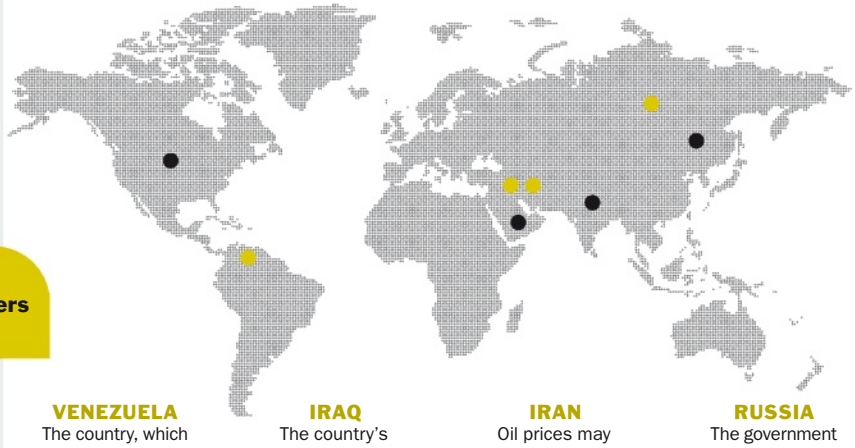
Winners

U.S.
Cheaper oil means consumers will have more cash, though domestic producers will hurt

SAUDI ARABIA
The wealthy nation will lose on low prices, but its competitors will suffer even more

INDIA
Cheaper prices will mitigate the $10.5 billion the government spends on petroleum subsidies each year

CHINA
Every $1 drop in oil translates into $2.1 billion in savings for China, which could use the opportunity to phase out cheaper, dirtier fuels



Losers

VENEZUELA
The country, which needs oil prices around $120 a barrel to balance its budget, risks defaulting on its debt.

IRAQ
The country's battle against the Islamist insurgent group ISIS is costly and highly dependent on oil revenue

IRAN
Oil prices may pressure Iran to reach a deal over its nuclear program in order to ease debilitating sanctions

RUSSIA
The government predicts its economy will fall into recession amid tumbling oil prices and Western sanctions

further protests. The one saving grace for the government is that the opposition remains divided and weak. But lacking Chávez's charisma—which carried the former President through trying economic times in the past—Maduro may be vulnerable to rivals within his Socialist Party.

Cheap oil puts the President, who blames the problems on an "economic war" being waged against Venezuela by the West, in a tough position. Bringing in pragmatic economic policies would hurt poor Venezuelans, who form the base of his support. Currency controls, enacted over a decade ago by Chávez, have created a black market on which the dollar sells for 30 times its strongest official value. But devaluing or ending the currency controls would exacerbate inflation and lower the value of Venezuelans' savings.

Another option would be to end a $12 billion-a-year subsidy on gas at the pump, which allows Venezuelans to fill up their cars for just a few cents. Economically, this would be easier to do now with low oil prices, though politically, it could spark major riots—just as it did when a similar move was tried in 1989.

The oil crash has already clipped Venezuela's anti-U.S. foreign policy. Beginning under Chávez, Venezuela has served as Cuba's chief patron, sending the communist island country almost 100,000 barrels of oil per day and between $5 billion and $15 billion per year in aid. But there's no way that Maduro can afford to remain so generous with oil below $50 a barrel—something Cuban President Raúl Castro surely knows. The lack of guaranteed support from Caracas would have made Castro "much more eager to negotiate and given the U.S. leverage," says Ted Henken, a Cuba expert at Baruch College. December's historic rapprochement between Havana and Washington might never have happened in a world of triple-digit oil.

The International Monetary Fund now projects that Venezuela's economy will shrink by 7% in 2015. Yet Maduro mostly speaks of the need to "deepen the model" of socialism. When Chávez became President in 1999, he toured the nations of OPEC and invited their heads of state to Caracas for a major summit. Prices went up and stayed there for years, thanks in part to the Sept. 11 attacks and wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Maduro has just come back from a similar tour of OPEC nations, hoping to persuade cartel members to push up prices and also to seek financing for Venezuela. In a recent cartoon by Venezuelan satirist EDO, Maduro is shown as a sweating snake charmer trying to persuade a barrel of oil to rise. So far, the magic hasn't worked.

—GIRISH GUPTA/CARACAS

CASHING IN

THE DROP IN OIL PRICES IS EQUIVALENT TO A $125 BILLION TAX CUT. **HERE'S WHAT THAT MEANS:**

CONSUMERS GET A BREAK

$767

Expected savings in oil-heating bills this winter, due to milder temperatures and lower prices



BIG CARS ARE BACK

PERCENTAGE OF VEHICLES SOLD



SUMMER 2008
(gas $4/gal.)
45% Trucks and SUVs
55% Passenger cars

TODAY
(gas $2/gal.)
55% Trucks and SUVs
45% Passenger cars

RETAILERS GET A LIFT
With heating-oil and gasoline savings, consumers have more cash for discretionary purchases

SALES INCREASES
November 2013–November 2014:



Electronics and appliance stores **5%**



Restaurants **6%**



Clothing retailers **5%**



Sports, hobby, book and music stores **4%**

GLOBAL FORECAST

WITH OPEC'S SWAY DIMINISHED, LOWER PRICES MAY HAVE STAYING POWER. THAT MEANS OPPORTUNITIES ALONG WITH A SOBERING PRICE TAG

Think it's easy to predict where oil will go? Consider what the very bright analysts at the IMF concluded last October when they took stock of where the global oil industry was headed: they warned the world about the risks of rising crude prices. The IMF estimated that oil prices could rise by as much as 20% over the course of a year, should the militants of ISIS manage to push farther into Iraq and seize the country's valuable oil wells. The negative effects, the IMF concluded, could be enough to knock up to 1.5% off global growth.

That's not quite what happened. The war against ISIS still rages in Iraq, but the country's oil keeps flowing. In fact, by December, Iraq was producing a record 4 million barrels of oil a day. Russia, meanwhile, last month pumped a post-Soviet record of 10.67 million barrels of oil a day. And in the U.S., even as prices were falling through the floor, oil production is nearly double what it was just seven years ago, and it's projected to keep growing in the short term. In total, the world produced a record 92.18 million barrels of oil a day in 2014—a daily surplus of nearly a million barrels. Turns out, high oil prices are one thing the global economy doesn't have to fear.

At least not for now. The long-term impacts of cheap oil depend on whether prices stay depressed for years or just months. Goldman Sachs—which notoriously projected in 2008 that oil could eventually hit $200 a barrel—slashed its forecasts to $50.40 for 2015 and $70 for 2016. Some traders have even bet that oil could go as low as $20 a barrel by June—a level not seen since shortly after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

Economics 101 would suggest



that ultra-low prices should induce greater consumption, but aside from the U.S.—where fuel consumption rose 7.1% year over year in the four weeks leading up to Jan. 9—that hasn't really happened. The same IMF that warned of the negative effects of a sudden oil-price rise in October has now cut its forecast for global economic growth by 0.3%, even though oil is cheaper than it's been for nearly six years. There's too much crude on the international market—global oil inventories grew by almost 800,000 barrels a day last year—and not enough takers.

As the country with the world's biggest spare capacity—the amount of dormant oil production that can be turned on like a tap—Saudi Arabia could single-handedly reverse the price slide by cutting production. It's done so in the past, most recently after oil crashed following the 2008 global financial crisis.

But in November Saudi Arabia and its partners in the OPEC cartel did something different, keeping production steady at around 30 million barrels a day. It's not certain why. Riyadh might want to rein in troublesome regimes like Iran and Russia, which are less able to endure low prices, while undercutting new production in countries outside OPEC. (It costs just a few dollars to extract oil in Saudi Arabia, far less than the price of fracking for oil in Texas or drilling ultra-deep wells off Brazil's coast.) "It is not in the interest of OPEC producers to cut their production, whatever the price is," Saudi Oil Minister Ali al-Naimi said at the end of December. As for $100-a-barrel oil—what seemed like the new normal as recently as a year ago—al-Naimi said "we may not" see it again.

Those were startling words; the International Energy Agency called it a "milestone in the history of oil." After all, OPEC is a cartel, and the whole point of a cartel is to control prices for the benefit of producers. But a cartel requires a virtual monopoly, and for OPEC, that's increasingly no longer the case. OPEC production barely changed from 2013 to 2014, but non-OPEC countries, including the U.S., added 2 million barrels a day, which happens to be about the size of the global oil glut.

Right now those suddenly cash-tight oil companies are responding to low prices by cutting back on new exploration and drilling, so production growth will eventually slow. In the medium term, cheap oil could be with us for some time. That will be great for farmers, for example—modern agriculture is incredibly energy-intensive, even more so than manufacturing. And developing nations like Indonesia and Egypt can use low prices as an opportunity to finally phase out ruinously expensive fuel subsidies in favor of better development spending.

But cheap oil, like cheap food, isn't good for the planet over the long term. Already Americans are responding to $2-a-gallon gas by buying more big trucks, while sales of hybrid cars are down. Stocks of solar companies have fallen in tandem with oil, as inexpensive crude undermines some of the economic rationale for switching to renewables. Most of all, though, cheap crude will just keep people addicted. Petroleum accounts for 36% of energy-related carbon dioxide emissions—emissions that helped make 2014 the warmest year on record. We can't predict where the price of oil is headed. But the price of continuing to burn it keeps getting clearer.

—BRYAN WALSH

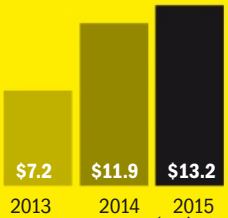
A LOOK AHEAD



AIRLINES WILL PROSPER

Airlines still haven't lowered fuel surcharges—and may not for another six months. Passengers will likely pay 2% more this year to fly on North American carriers even as airlines cash in.

Profits, in billions:



EMPLOYMENT WILL GO UP

A bump in sales could encourage businesses to hire

300,000

Additional jobs expected to be created in 2015 due to consumers' energy savings

SOURCES: AAA; EIA; EPA; GOLDMAN SACHS; COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS; MOTOR INTELLIGENCE; IATA; CENSUS

NATION

The Watchdog

Congressman Jason Chaffetz starts his hunt for White House slipups

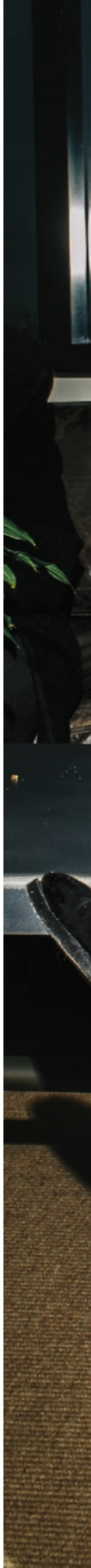
By Jack Dickey/Park City, Utah

On Dec. 8, 47-year-old Utah Republican Jason Chaffetz and his wife Julie were invited to one of the White House's annual holiday parties. Lamb and eggnog were served, carols were sung, and dozens of pictures were taken with a smiling President and First Lady.

That night, Chaffetz says, he buttonholed President Obama's chief of staff, Denis McDonough. He had a message to deliver, a warning packaged as a tip from the new friendly face of the White House's top congressional nemesis, the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. "If I'm a House Republican from Utah and I know more about the Secret Service than you do, that's a problem," he says he told McDonough. "You've got a problem."

Less than three months earlier, a fence jumper with a knife had run past the Secret Service into the very building where the two men were speaking. In the aftermath of that incursion, Chaffetz expressed outrage about a separate, previously undisclosed incident in which agents had allowed a contractor with a gun and an arrest record to ride in an elevator with Obama. At a public hearing, Chaffetz forced the Secret Service's then director, Julia Pierson, to admit that she had not briefed the President after the elevator breach. She resigned the next day.

Photographs by Michael Friberg for TIME





House call *Chaffetz visits a major donor from a Utah medical-device firm to discuss regulations*

McDonough, who declined through a spokesperson to comment on the encounter, may have taken Chaffetz seriously after all. In early January, the Obama Administration continued its overhaul of the agency's leadership, dismissing four senior Secret Service administrators, including the head of presidential protection.

That shake-up was the first clear win for congressional oversight since the GOP took control of the House in 2010. And it was an even clearer win for Chaffetz, who was promoted to chairman in December over more senior competition.

Republicans say they benefit from Chaffetz's style. He is the watchdog you want to pet, never losing his smile even as he accuses Obama aides of the most grievous tyrannies. "You can get a lot more done when you are a happy conservative," says Kevin McCarthy, the third-ranking Republican in the House. "He's very refreshing."

Most anyone who had a bad year in the right-wing press—Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson, say, or Obamacare adviser Jonathan Gruber—had to face a public grilling by Chaffetz. He was one of Congress's loudest voices when it came to investigating the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya (he suggested it could lead to Obama's impeachment) and has called for an end to the TSA's use of full-body scanners at airports.

Now he says he plans to continue the committee's investigations into IRS political profiling and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives' Operation Fast and Furious "gun walking" scandal. He'll also hold hearings on embassy security, one of his pet causes.

Old stories, yes, but with a new spin. Chaffetz is expected to fill the new legislative session with big-deal ruckuses, using them to explain, ahead of the 2016 election, just how bad Big Government can be. The question for Republicans is whether the new guy will be able to get results.

Chaffetz says he is ready to go. "The secret to good communications lies in authenticity," he says about his approach to the job. "You see those car commercials with Matthew McConaughey? I've always loved the guy and hope someday to meet him. Now I'm going to buy a Lincoln."

The Underdog of Oversight

THE HOUSE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE HAS essentially unlimited investigative jurisdiction, and it has hosted notable recent hearings on everything from steroids in baseball to faulty gas pedals in Toyotas. The committee generally pushes for more federal transparency and less bureaucracy.

But when the government is divided, the committee's investigations tend to scour the Executive Branch. For example, Clinton-era chairman Dan Burton, a Republican, filed more than 1,000 subpoenas against the White House. In this modern moment of gridlock and grandstanding, there may be no better gig in Congress.

Chaffetz has subpoena power at his disposal, allowing him to command appearances and government documents. He also has a $5.4 million payroll and scores of whistle-blowers who he says hail from all corners of the federal government.

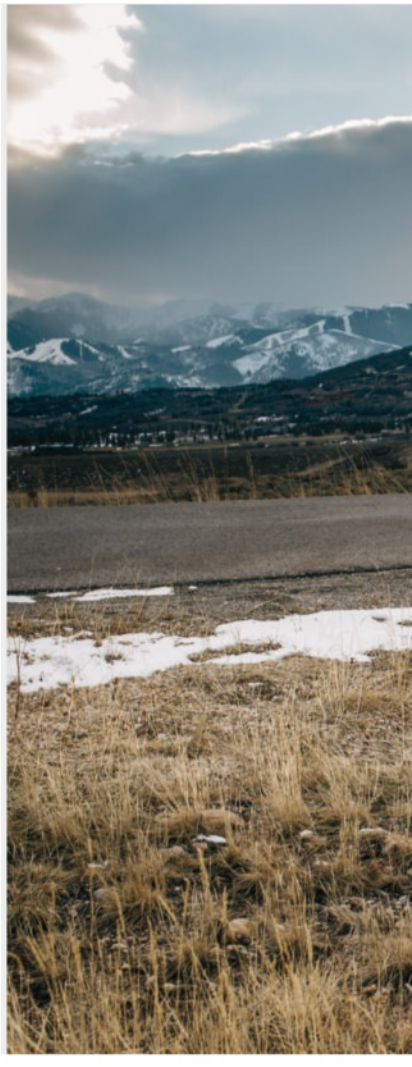
And he's starting with a fresh reputation. Chaffetz's predecessor as chairman, Representative Darrell Issa, often tripped over himself. In 2012, he memorably refused to admit law student Sandra Fluke to a hearing on religious liberty and contraception. The panel pressed on without a female witness.

Issa was undone, ultimately, by the danger that faces any prosecutor: If you shake enough witnesses with enough force, someone will crack. But shake too hard while failing to deliver and you become a villain, a caricature that Democrats gladly sketched. Former White House aide David Plouffe once mocked Issa on Twitter as "Mr. Grand Theft Auto," alluding to a 35-year-old indictment against Issa in Ohio that was never prosecuted.

Anthony Weiner, the former Democratic Representative from New York who resigned after a sexting scandal in 2011, knew Chaffetz well while they were in Congress together. He expects him to avoid the trap that caught his predecessor. "You know the drawing of evolution?" Weiner says. "Issa's the caveman all the way on the left, hunched over. Chaffetz is all the way on the right, walking upright, just like you and me."

In Chaffetz's six years in Congress, he has won the respect of his Democratic peers. While Issa once cut the microphone of the committee's ranking Democrat, Elijah Cummings of Maryland, Chaffetz and Cummings paid friendly visits to each other's districts in August, bonding over, among other things, the impact of cancer on their respective families. "Although we have disagreements, I have always found him to be nondisagreeable," Cummings told TIME after the trip.

Since taking over, Chaffetz has made a show of disavowing Issa's legacy, replacing the committee-room portraits of his predecessors, including Issa, with photos of Utah, postal workers and the Lincoln Memorial. When Issa was asked where his portrait would now hang, he replied, "Well, I know the Administration would like to hang me. So perhaps you could check with Obama." Wall decorations aside, Obama Administration officials scoff at the idea that Chaffetz will be different from Issa.



Decisive Moments

CHAFFETZ—PRONOUNCED *CHAFE*-ITS, ALthough he gets "Chavez" a lot—was born outside San Jose, Calif., in 1967. His mother Peggy ran a photography business. His father John was a businessman and a Zelig of the California sports scene. Dodgers legend Sandy Koufax is Chaffetz's godfather.

In high school, Chaffetz traded playing soccer for kicking footballs. He was good enough to earn a scholarship to Brigham Young University, then the defending national champion, in Provo, Utah.

"I had heard of Donny and Marie,



MICHAEL FRIBERG FOR TIME

Focus *When in Utah, Chaffetz likes to photograph wildlife with his 14-year-old daughter Kate*

and Gary Gilmore," Chaffetz says. "But otherwise Utah was a foreign country." He wound up loving it, and was baptized as a Mormon after college. His first taste of politics came in college from an unlikely source: Democrat Michael Dukakis, whose 1988 presidential campaign he co-chaired in Utah. (It was more about family than ideology: the Massachusetts governor had married John Chaffetz's first wife and adopted Jason's half brother.) Of all 50 states, Dukakis did worst in Utah, but the proximity to power had piqued Chaffetz's interest. After working in corporate communications for Nu Skin, the skincare-product marketer, and elsewhere in the private sector, he landed a gig as Jon Huntsman's campaign manager in his successful gubernatorial campaign.

Four years later, Chaffetz became a candidate for Congress, pitching himself to Utah Republicans as a Tea Partyer before there was such a thing. He pushed English as the national language and opposed amnesty for illegal immigrants. His grassroots effort unseated a six-term Republican incumbent in Utah's Third Congressional District during the state convention and primary, making him a sure general-election bet in what is often the nation's reddest state.

It takes 7½ hours, Chaffetz says, to drive from one end of his district to the other, so he's often found behind the wheel of his Ford F-150 truck. His district is the country's youngest, and Utah has the nation's highest birthrate, by far, and the fourth lowest unemployment rate. Like him, many of Chaffetz's constituents are Mormon. He says the religion's reputation for clean living has been an asset to his career. His only vice, he says, is fast food, in particular the burger joint Five Guys. "Every time I eat with the guy, I wonder how he'll make it to the end of his term," says Trey Gowdy, the South Carolina Republican whom Chaffetz considers his best friend in Congress.

Tech companies have taken advantage of the cheap land and educated workforce around Provo. It's what Chaffetz wishes the rest of the country looked like. As we drive together on a nippy December afternoon a few days after the White House Christmas party, he points out the just-opened offices and shopping centers amid the still vacant grassy lots. It's like driving through a postcard: jobs are plentiful, business is booming, and everyone is young, happy and well educated.

And there are porcupines. When he's at home, Chaffetz likes to shoot wildlife—with a Canon Rebel T1i and a long lens. The hunt for a good photograph, he says, challenges him more than hunting to kill. The animal needs to give the photographer the right look in the right light.

Chaffetz has never been able to photograph the spiny, mustard-colored rodent, though. And this safari through a Park City real estate development seems to be no different. "I want to get the porcupine," he says. But we have been driving, necks craned, for more than an hour and have seen no such thing. Deer and elk, sure. Sunset is closing in. Will he find one? Chaffetz's 14-year-old daughter Kate, his most trusted photo assistant, seems skeptical.

But two minutes after his proclamation, Chaffetz spots a bushy clump nestled in the branches of a bare tree: a porcupine. He approaches the tree slowly by walking around it in a circle, reducing the radius with each step. He is not happy, though, with what he is getting. The snaps have no drama; the motionless porcupine might as well be dead. He gets closer and closer. Still, he doesn't like what he sees.

So he crouches underneath, with maybe three feet between his familiar mug and the animal's many needles. "I can see its face," he says. "It's breathing." Chaffetz positions his camera in front of his face and aims it upward, turning his 55-mm lens on the standoffish critter. If things break his way, he'll have a print to be proud of. And if they don't, the man who will soon zoom in on the White House will end up in the hospital, gauzed and chastened.

"Dad, you're gonna die," Kate says.

"That's all right," Chaffetz says. "I'm used to it." —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ROGERS/HERSHEY, PA. ■

Thinking Outside The Can



Campbell's Soup CEO Denise Morrison is cooking up a new recipe to court consumers obsessed with healthy eating

By Eliza Gray

AT THE CAMPBELL'S SOUP HEADQUARTERS in Camden, N.J., CEO Denise Morrison is taking me on a tour of the company store, where employees can buy products at a discount. Morrison breezes quickly past the items Campbell's is best known for: the classic red-and-white cans of condensed tomato soup, Pepperidge Farm breads and Goldfish, and Prego spaghetti sauces. She wants to show me the perimeter of the store, where the refrigerated and fresh items are kept.

"One of the things that I'm so excited about—I love my food," she says, opening the package of a new Campbell's product, a squeezable tube of fruit puree and Greek yogurt. "Mom can freeze it and put it in the lunch box. It's a better-for-you snack for kids that doesn't exist in fresh." Next, she points out a transparent bag of baby carrots, decorated with cartoon vegetables. "We have veggie snackers. These are pouches of carrots with seasoning—you shake it up and it tastes like ranch. Want to try it?"

I bite into a powder-covered carrot. "It tastes like a potato chip," I offer.

"It crunches like a potato chip!" she exclaims delightedly, adding, "25 calories!"

As the head of one of the world's largest food companies, Morrison has the job of applying the core DNA of a firm that sells 2 billion cans of Campbell's soup each year to shifting American tastes, constantly searching for a new take on the notion of convenience food. Something, perhaps, like a potato-chip carrot. As anyone who has read a restaurant menu or walked the sprawling organic aisles of a supermarket knows, Americans are fixated on eating healthier—even if they don't always follow through. For all the desire to eat fresh, working parents face the challenge of getting family dinner on the table.

So for Campbell's to succeed, it must



Photograph by Jeff Brown for TIME



Soup or salad? *CEO Denise Morrison is reinventing Campbell's offerings, including more fresh foods*

Something New on the Menu

Campbell's says its latest products must appeal to more diverse tastes



Organic baby food
Ingredients are aimed at health-conscious parents; the pouch is intended to help babies feed themselves



New flavors
Campbell's is responding to changing demographics with "Latin-inspired" varieties of its core soups



Raw vegetables
Carrots taste like ranch—thanks to flavoring that has 8% of the recommended daily sodium intake



Lunch-box snacks
Tubes combine Greek yogurt with fruit for a high-protein bite

give parents foods that satisfy their idea of what's healthy and appeal to the average kid without dirtying a dish. With every new kale-quinoa-Greek-yogurt trend, that task keeps getting harder. After 3½ years on the job, Morrison continues to contend with critics who lament Campbell's lackluster stock price, even as the company posted better-than-expected earnings in its most recent quarterly report. Convenience food has typically meant processed food, so when Campbell's starts "bringing those capabilities to the fresh space," as Morrison puts it, what that really means is taking 145 years of experience with processing, branding and convenient packaging from cans and boxes and moving it to the produce aisle. Whether that's brilliant or paradoxical depends on your perspective. But one thing is for sure: with Campbell's products in more than 90% of U.S. households, Morrison's plans are bound to affect the way Americans eat.

Into the Soup

THE HISTORY OF PUTTING FOOD INTO CANS is, of course, largely a story of taking fresh items and preserving them. But Campbell's became famous not for the vegetables it preserved but for the ingenious way it found to alter them. In 1897, an MIT-trained chemist at Campbell's invented condensed soup by reducing the water content. Suddenly able to ship its soup more cheaply than its competitors, Campbell's was selling 16 million cans of soup annually by 1904. (Heinz, its closest competitor, sold under a million.) The original condensed soups—cream of mushroom, tomato and chicken noodle—remain Campbell's best-selling products.

But soup—still a source of about one-third of the company's $8.3 billion in total revenue in 2014—has in a way become a victim of its own success. The same hunger for convenience that popularized meals from a can has driven more Americans to stop cooking altogether. Tonight, 58% of the main dishes eaten at home in the U.S. will be homemade—down from about 70% 30 years ago, according to Harry Balzer, a food analyst at the NPD Group. Balzer says the most popular dinner in America is a sandwich—good news for Campbell's Pepperidge Farm line of breads but not for its core soup business, which does better when people actually cook. The company says sales of a condensed soup increase 70% among customers who download a recipe from the Campbell's website that features it.

The challenges Campbell's is facing are more complicated than cooking. Despite a boost from colder-than-average weather the past two winters, the company is wrestling with big changes, from consumer concerns about sodium (often high in processed foods) and shifts in the global market (China's booming middle class is everyone's next target) to competition from grocery-store private labels and rivals like General Mills. It's not 1897 anymore.

Enter Denise Morrison. When Campbell's appointed her CEO in 2011, *Bloomberg Businessweek* painted her as a company insider unlikely to deliver change. About that, the magazine was wrong. Morrison has made bold acquisitions in her 3½ years: a Danish cookie company popular in China, a millennial-baiting organic-baby-food company and—for a whopping $1.55 billion—Bolthouse Farms, the largest acquisition in the company's history and the inventor of the potato-chip carrot.

What her critics didn't consider is that Morrison, 61, has spent practically every minute of her life preparing to run a company like Campbell's. The oldest of four daughters growing up in New Jersey in the 1960s, Morrison has wanted to be a CEO since she was little. Her father Dennis Sullivan, an executive at AT&T, thought it was important to prepare his daughters for a business world that was growing more open to women. At family dinners he talked with them about marketing strategies and new products—he was involved in the introduction of call waiting, and the family was one of the first to own a Princess Trimline phone. He taught basic business skills through childhood activities like negotiating over chores and identifying the target market when selling Girl Scout cookies (answer: the wealthiest homes with the most kids).

Morrison graduated from Boston College in 1975 with a degree in economics and psychology and started her career at Procter & Gamble. She worked at PepsiCo, Nestlé, Nabisco and Kraft before arriving at Campbell's in 2003. As president of Campbell's retail business in the U.S., she had some setbacks, according to *Businessweek*, including an advertising feud with Progresso over MSG in soup, which generated bad publicity for both brands, and a move to reduce sodium in soups that was so unpopular with customers that Campbell's put most of the salt back in.

All four of those Sullivan girls grew up to have successful business careers, and two of them are now CEOs. Denise's sister Maggie Wilderotter is CEO of Frontier Communications, a telecommunications company based in Connecticut. Though skeptics might gripe that the Campbell's turnaround isn't moving fast enough, Wilderotter says her sister is at her best with a challenge. "We grew up in an environment where we would get the highest level of satisfaction from doing things people never expected us to pull off," she says. "So being in a situation of transformation, disruption, change—she's very good at orchestrating that. It is sort of like breathing for her."



Slow-cooker sauces
With slow cookers in 80% of all U.S. households, these sauces promise a shortcut to dinner



Green juices
For consumers who want in on the kale craze without having to operate a juicer



Quick-cook dinners
Pouches of skillet sauces can be poured over a stir-fry, giving a flavor boost to a fast entrée



Organic soups
Launching this month, these soups put an organic stamp on an iconic Campbell's product



Soup pouches
Aimed at millennials, Go Soup comes in global flavors and grab-and-go microwave packages

What's for Dinner?

WHEN I SIT DOWN WITH MORRISON IN HER office at Campbell's Camden headquarters, she bombards me with data about shifting demographics. The American nuclear middle-class family—once Campbell's bread and butter—is disappearing. The proportion of households in the U.S. made up of married couples with kids has dropped by half since 1970, according to the most recent data from the Census Bureau. They now make up only 20% of households. They've been partly replaced by more single adults, who now make up 27% of American households. Households of families without kids—many made up of empty-nest baby boomers and younger millennials, drawn from two massive generations, each close to 80 million strong—have been growing for a long time, as have households consisting of multigenerational families and singletons. But Morrison says the diversity of tastes these different segments represent is most acutely felt right now. "Once upon a time you could throw a casserole in the oven and everyone would have to eat it," says Morrison. "We've had to develop food products in different kinds of packaging and for different kinds of occasions."

For many Americans, those "occasions" often mean five-minute snacks on the way out the door instead of a sit-down family meal—unless it can be prepared in 27 minutes, the daily U.S. cooking average, according to food expert Michael Pollan. "Our lives are being lived in smaller, bite-size pieces," says Alexia Howard, a senior analyst at Sanford Bernstein who follows Campbell's. And as baby boomers age and millennials fret about what goes into their bodies, those snacks had better be healthy. "People want to read the label and understand what they are eating," says Howard.

This has translated into a boom for fresh foods. In 2014, sales for fresh produce and meat grew by 5% over the year before, according to the most recent Nielsen data, while groceries in the center of the store—home of the packaged goods—were down 1.1%. That trend toward vegetables will only continue. Only 5% of baby boomers report "often going vegetarian," according to a Hartman Group study, but 12% of millennials do. And those consumers want fresh.

The drive toward real food explains why Morrison would invest in baby carrots—a product closer to a commodity than a processed good. "When I found Bolthouse Farms, one of my board directors said, 'Carrots, Denise, really?' and I said, 'No! Packaged fresh! It's an $18 billion category growing at 6% to 7%.' [That growth has since slowed.] We can bring our capabilities and brands to fresh food," she says. "I love the carrots. The authenticity."

A Matter of Taste

THE IRONY, OF COURSE, IS THAT IN ORDER to make money from a raw carrot, Morrison must make it a bit less authentic. Jeff Dunn, the CEO of Bolthouse, puts it this way: "If you are just buying a bag of unpeeled carrots, that's a basic commodity. There's not enough value added in the brand on that. Retailers can have their own brand—a private label. But if you take the carrot and you do something interesting, that lends itself to the brand of Bolthouse baby carrots. The ultimate manifestation of that are veggie snackers—the flavored baby carrots. You take a basic commodity and you add value. That's branded."

Not everyone is convinced. Though Campbell's earnings topped $800 million in 2014, its stock is still lagging, prompting some Wall Street analysts to question when Morrison's acquisitions will pay off—and fueling rumors that the company could be a takeover candidate. (Warren Buffett's name gets bandied about, among others.) And the vocal champions of healthier eating may not endorse powder-coated carrots, fruit in tubes or the other innovations that mark the intersection of the fresh-food craze and the persistent clamor for convenience. The sodium in Bolthouse's ranch seasoning, for instance, means a kid who eats that bag of carrots is getting 8% of the recommended daily intake.

But for Campbell's, the point isn't trying to get everyone to eat only unprocessed foods. Instead, it's catering to consumers who want healthy meals but still need shortcuts (or tastes that placate finicky kids). So Morrison forges on. One of her latest moves: the acquisition of Plum Organics baby food, a company created for the kind of millennial parents who like the idea of home-cooked vegetables for their babies until they realize how hard it is to pull off in a two-career household. Which means Campbell's can now offer parents baby foods in flavors like pumpkin-date-oats-chia and kale-apple-Greek-yogurt that come in a tube instead of a jar so toddlers can feed themselves. "My 15-month-old grandchild eats kale because of Plum," Morrison says. "We are training the baby's palate to like healthier foods at a very young age."

Up next, Bolthouse may bring its approach to new veggies like celery or cherry tomatoes, Plum will promote products for adults, and Campbell's will launch a line of organic soups in January. For now, Morrison projects confidence. As she tells aspiring CEOs, "Things don't always go according to plan, so you have to have the courage and agility to course correct. That doesn't mean you lose sight of the vision." For the company's sake, Campbell's hopes her vision pans out in time. ■

FIRST PAGE AND THESE PAGES: CAMPBELL SOUP CO. (10)

CULTURE

HALFTIME IS A HIT

HOW THE SUPER BOWL BECAME POP'S BIGGEST STAGE

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

IN ONE OF HER BIGGEST HITS, POP star Katy Perry sings, "I'm coming at you like a dark horse." It's a song she's likely to perform Feb. 1 when she plays the Super Bowl in Glendale, Ariz. It's also a fitting description of her booking. Perry, only six years removed from her breakout album, lacks the stature of past Super Bowl performers like Michael Jackson and Paul McCartney. Some among the massive audience for the game—which is typically the most watched TV event of the year by a wide margin—may not have heard of her at all.

That's precisely the point. For Perry, who's already played the Grammys and American Music Awards several times, the Super Bowl represents a major opportunity to find an even bigger audience. "There is no better thing, in terms of TV coverage, than to get booked on the halftime show," says Keith Caulfield, the associate director of charts at the music-industry publication *Billboard*. "You have about

HITS AND MISSES
We rate the most—and least—successful halftime shows in recent memory



FUMBLE
MADONNA
Her "Like a Prayer" rendition was overshadowed by M.I.A.'s middle finger, shaky new material and questions about lip-synching



FUMBLE
JANET JACKSON
The controversy over her "wardrobe malfunction" loomed over her new album and follows her still



FUMBLE
THE BLACK EYED PEAS
The act was widely derided; they got a short-term sales boost but haven't released new music since

BETTER BY HALF
Once the province of marching bands and Up With People, the show has evolved from legacy to pop

- MICHAEL JACKSON **1993**
- "ROCKIN' COUNTRY SUNDAY" **1994**
- *INDIANA JONES* TRIBUTE **1995**
- DIANA ROSS **1996**
- BLUES BROTHERS **1997**
- SALUTE TO MOTOWN **1998**
- STEVIE WONDER, GLORIA ESTEFAN **1999**
- "TAPESTRY OF NATIONS" **2000**

Illustrations by L-Dopa for TIME



FIRST DOWN

BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN

The Boss performed a track from his new album, which had a stronger-than-expected week on the charts as a result



FIRST DOWN

THE ROLLING STONES

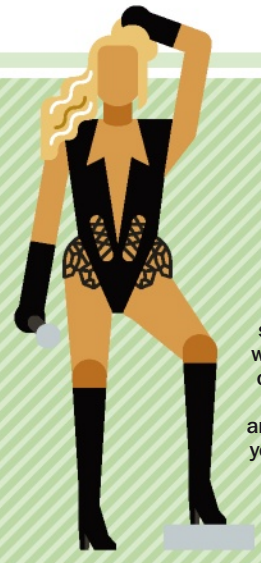
Sales of the Stones' newest disc increased after their set, but the 34% gain was relatively modest. Their mid-decade tour, at least, was a hit

FIRST DOWN

PAUL MCCARTNEY

The former Beatle was a safe choice after Janet Jackson but set few pulses racing





TOUCHDOWN

BEYONCÉ

Postgame, the singer went on a world tour—which consistently sold out—building anticipation for her year-end "surprise album"

TOUCHDOWN

PRINCE

A particularly energetic set in the rain cemented the artist's critical reputation, and the more than 100% increase in album sales was a nice bonus





TOUCHDOWN

BRUNO MARS

The relative neophyte earned credibility—and saw sales of his most recent album spike 180%

TOUCHDOWN

AEROSMITH AND 'N SYNC

An elaborate pop medley, which also featured Britney Spears and Mary J. Blige, merged old and new

AEROSMITH, 'N SYNC **2001**

U2 **2002**

SHANIA TWAIN, NO DOUBT, STING **2003**

JANET JACKSON, JUSTIN TIMBERLAKE **2004**

PAUL MCCARTNEY **2005**

THE ROLLING STONES **2006**

PRINCE **2007**

TOM PETTY AND THE HEARTBREAKERS **2008**

BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN **2009**

THE WHO **2010**

THE BLACK EYED PEAS **2011**

MADONNA **2012**

BEYONCÉ **2013**

BRUNO MARS **2014**

KATY PERRY **2015**

15 minutes of tens of millions of eyeballs on you." And these viewers, unlike those who watch music-awards shows like the Grammys, are far more casual in their culture consumption. That makes them potential new fans. "A lot of those people," says Caulfield, "haven't been to any of your concerts, haven't bought your albums, but may be interested in learning more about Katy Perry or Bruno Mars or Beyoncé."

It's not just the artists who win. For the NFL, which has moved from showcasing legacy acts to featuring contemporary artists, in a continued attempt to draw in women and families, Perry is the edgy, visually dynamic star who organizers hope can keep viewers from changing the channel while the New England Patriots and Seattle Seahawks are in the locker room. Forget the MTV Video Music Awards, the national anthem at a presidential Inauguration or a sold-out concert stint at Madison Square Garden—the Super Bowl is by any metric the biggest showcase for a music artist. From kickoff to Gatorade bath, there's simply no show comparable; the 2014 game, despite its lopsided 43-8 final score, was watched by more Americans than any other television broadcast in history.

Those ratings are a testament to the NFL's success in making the Super Bowl—also a platform for the year's most imaginative and elaborate commercials—into an all-around entertainment event. This year, the league hopes the extravaganza will eclipse heated debate over commissioner Roger Goodell's management and, specifically, his reaction to the Ray Rice abuse case. Last year's game averaged a record 111.5 million viewers over the course of the broadcast. But viewership peaked, at 115.3 million, not during any memorable play but when Mars took the stage. There's no other moment in which an entertainer comes as close to speaking to all of America at once.



Hear her roar *Perry, one of pop's most reliable hitmakers, will perform at the Super Bowl, airing Feb. 1 at 6:30 p.m. E.T. on NBC*

THE GAME PLAN

DECADES AGO, AN UP-AND-COMING ARTist's outdrawing the big game in viewership would have been unthinkable. In 1992, CBS's Super Bowl broadcast featured a halftime tribute to the Winter Olympics, with Gloria Estefan and a coordinated dance routine to "Winter Wonderland." Competitor Fox aired an episode of

KEVIN MAZUR—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

the sketch series *In Living Color* at the same time, drawing 22 million viewers—a huge swath of CBS's potential audience. So in 1993, the NFL enlisted Michael Jackson to keep viewers from changing the channel between the second and third quarters. His performance, which featured a medley of classic hits as well as a children's choir, demonstrated that contemporary pop was fair game in what had historically been a fairly staid broadcast.

By the early 2000s, MTV was contracted to produce spectacular mashups of contemporary artists—but that arrangement ended after Justin Timberlake infamously ripped off a piece of Janet Jackson's bodice in 2004. The incident changed the shape of popular culture for nearly a decade, casting a shadow over Jackson's career while ushering in a new era of playing it safe on live television. McCartney, in 2005, was one of the string of legacy acts booked before the league, surprisingly, got with the times. It invited the hip-hop group Black Eyed Peas for 2011, followed by Madonna, Beyoncé and Mars. "Eventually, there's only so many legendary acts out there," says Mark Quenzel, the NFL executive who oversees the league's entertainment side. "And we've used most of them."

From McCartney to Perry, the one thing that's remained constant—and in fact grown with the rise of instant-gratification online music purchasing—is an immediate sales bump for the artists. After Mars' performance, his most recent album, *Unorthodox Jukebox*, jumped 180% in sales compared with the previous week; Beyoncé's *4* went up 123%. Sales of Madonna's album catalog rose 410% after her 2012 set. Madonna, Mars and Beyoncé all embarked on tours after their performances. Beyoncé's post-Bowl tour sold $212 million in tickets, while Madonna's sold $305 million. Perry hopes to follow suit; she'll be touring arenas in Europe in February and March.

Beyond the contribution to an artist's coffers, though, is a patina of greater stardom. Given the Super Bowl's nature as a moment to address a mass audience, stars tend to be both assertive and specific in their set choices. Consider that when she performed at the 2013 Super Bowl, Beyoncé was a very popular singer but not quite yet Beyoncé, ultra-powerful superstar. The sheer ambition of her performance, racing through the various eras of her career, cemented her in the public imagination as the perfect all-around entertainer—never mind that her most recent album was two years old and she showed no indication of releasing new material.

Similarly, Mars was a widely respected artist with a scant two albums to his name and a relatively low public profile before his high-energy performance vaulted him a level of fame or two. Madonna's attempt to merge her back-catalog hits with newer material was less successful, not least because guest star M.I.A. stole the show with a flipped middle finger. But the motive was clear: Madonna was trying to assert her place at the center of the pop ecosystem, a goal her contemporary Prince had achieved brilliantly five years before. An artist intent on redefining herself, or simply defining herself, could hardly ask for a better opportunity.

A TEAM EFFORT

BUT THAT DEFINITION COMES WITH limits. The NFL discusses its standards with potential acts before any contract is signed. (The process of planning the 2016 show will begin in earnest, Quenzel says, about a month after Perry performs.) B. Akerlund, the stylist for Madonna's halftime show, tweeted a picture of what had been the planned costumes for the show-closing performance of "Like a Prayer"; the visual effect of a crucifix across the robes apparently got nixed. "What the choir should have been … but the NFL wouldn't have it," Akerlund wrote. M.I.A. was sued by the NFL after her crude gesture was caught on camera; the rapper and the league eventually settled privately.

In an era when the pop-music audience is even more fractured than the television one, the league isn't just making kings and queens of pop; it's defining mores. For her part, Perry has said her costuming won't push the envelope too far, calling her aesthetic "soft-serve sexiness. My intention is that everyone talks about the music and nothing else."

But that may be a tough ask. The NFL's booking practices came under new scrutiny in 2014, after it was reported that the league had asked Perry and two other acts to pay for the booking. Perry has never dispelled the notion that she was asked to pay but has said she did not. "I want to be invited on my own merits and not with some fine print," she said this month. "I stuck to my position." Quenzel calls the incident "misreported," noting that artists are often asked to discuss ways to finance particularly extravagant performances: "We just want to make sure that everybody who benefits from it also understands there's a cost associated with it, and there are limits to the cost."

The Super Bowl could conceivably represent a comeback for Perry—transforming her from an artist who just endured a rough press cycle, with some slightly underperforming singles overshadowed by a purported feud with Taylor Swift, into her generation's defining star. With that in mind, it's unsurprising that some have been suspicious of just how neat it seems. Both monetarily and in a more diffuse sense, Perry is bound to profit from the Super Bowl performance.

But the relationship between the league and its star of the moment is a symbiotic one. Perry is in some ways the best-case scenario for a league that's grown increasingly dependent on pop culture to package a controversial sport for women and families. Like the football tees marketed to women by Victoria's Secret Pink or the growing number of concerts staged by the NFL throughout the season (Pharrell Williams and Ariana Grande performed at the 2014 season kickoff), Perry represents a new direction for a conversation that recently has focused on domestic violence and brain injuries. Given the inspirational tone of her music, she has said, "Maybe there is no better person" to reach female audiences. More generally, Perry—with the help of guest star Lenny Kravitz and a few surprises yet to be announced—is credible enough to pull together 12 minutes of hits but with enough on the line to make that 12 minutes as entertaining as possible.

She'll have competition. Twenty-three years after Fox poached some of the NFL's audience, YouTube is planning a live, streaming halftime show of its own, with cooking-show host Harley Morenstein. The history of comedy-show counter-programming aside, it's hard to imagine the NFL is too concerned: the appeal of pop music, expensive ads and (for some) championship football is a beleaguered league's one undeniable asset. ■

data for:



©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Data is a priceless treasure. Preserving and making it available is what we do.

The Vatican Apostolic Library was founded in the middle of the 15th century by Pope Nicholas V and today contains items that span more than 2,500 years of history and numerous fields of human knowledge. NTT DATA is contributing to the Library's digitization of its vast collection of manuscripts, helping to make these treasures of mankind more widely available and known, both now and in the future. If you're looking for a global partner with innovative IT solutions that bring value to people, NTT DATA is for you. Get to know us at nttdata.com.

data for: the people

NTT DATA

Global IT Innovator

'IF THIS MOVIE ISN'T SEEN BY THE PUBLIC, IT IS A FAILURE IN ITSELF.' **PAGE 56**

THE WEEK
SCANDAL
RETURNS

The Culture

ART

A Hero's Welcome

Kehinde Wiley's work frames young black men in a way they're rarely seen in fine arts: as celebrated heroes. In 2001 the New York City–based artist began re-creating classic paintings by Manet, Titian and van Dyck, replacing their subjects with black men—whom he hired off the street—striking the same poses in contemporary dress. The new book ***Kehinde Wiley: A New Republic,*** available in late February, chronicles these works as well as Wiley's colorful "The World Stage" series, which features paintings he made all around the globe. An accompanying exhibit kicks off at the Brooklyn Museum on Feb. 20 and will travel to Fort Worth, Texas; Seattle; and Richmond, Va., in 2015 and 2016.



Mostly known as a painter, Wiley has also produced bronze busts like 2011's *Houdon Paul-Louis*

HOUDON PAUL-LOUIS, 2011: KEHINDE WILEY. PHOTO: SARAH DESANTIS—BROOKLYN MUSEUM; LAW: FOCUS FEATURES; GRAHAM, SHEPARD: NBC

MOVIES

Treasure Trove

An out-of-work submarine captain *(Jude Law, below)* goes after a sunken World War II U-boat full of gold in ***Black Sea.*** But the mission turns deadly when greed overcomes his crew in this thriller from Kevin Macdonald, who also directed the Oscar-winning documentary *One Day in September.* In theaters Jan. 23.



MUSIC

Chill Pill

After a fling with dance music, R&B singer and in-demand songwriter Ne-Yo goes back to his roots on his sixth album, ***Non-Fiction,*** which arrives Jan. 27 and features guest spots by Pitbull and T.I.



TELEVISION

Empty Nest

NBC's long-running drama ***Parenthood*** will air its series finale on Jan. 29 after six seasons. Lauren Graham *(below, with co-star Dax Shepard)* recently told TIME what fans should expect from the ending. "It's satisfying," she says of her character's arc, "but I think it's a little polarizing."



By Nolan Feeney

An Oscar for *Sniper*?

Clint Eastwood's war film makes a bundle and snarls the race

By Richard Corliss



THIS WAS GOING TO BE THE YEAR FOR LOW-budget indie films at the Oscars. *Boyhood* and *Whiplash*, two hits from the 2014 Sundance Film Festival, would battle for Best Picture against British twins *The Imitation Game* and *The Theory of Everything*, those clever entertainments *Birdman* and *The Grand Budapest Hotel* and, most aptly, the Martin Luther King Jr. biopic *Selma*. The Motion Picture Academy's choices were elite and exclusive; they left out anyone of African descent from the 20 total nominations for best acting. As *The Nightly Show*'s Larry Wilmore said of the nominations, "They're so white, a grand jury has decided not to indict them."

Underlining its commitment to excellent films that few people have seen, the Academy refused to nominate the year's most popular cartoon, *The Lego Movie*, for Best Animated Feature or the sleek smash mystery *Gone Girl* for Adapted Screenplay. To the regular moviegoers who pay Hollywood's bills—and who enjoy seeing their favorites vie for the prizes on Oscar night, Feb. 22—the message was: Don't bother watching. This one's for connoisseurs only.

Then, like a sharpshooter from a rooftop, *American Sniper* blasted open the Oscar party. Directed by Clint Eastwood, the film stars Bradley Cooper as Navy SEAL Chris Kyle, who is credited with 160 kills in four tours of Iraq, making him the most prolific sniper in U.S. military history. A big, burly action film—more butch than Sundance—*Sniper* is also what the mass audience would call a *real* movie: not a history lesson or a clever cinematic game but a tribute to a warrior who did lots of shooting, fretting, loving and learning.

And unlike its competitors for Best Picture, *Sniper*, made for about $60 million, was an instant blockbuster. After a four-week run in just four theaters, where it amassed $3.5 million, the movie earned a sensational $89.5 million in its first three days of wide release and $107 million over the four-day Martin Luther King Jr. weekend. (In the process, it probably took a dent out of *Selma*, which earned a modest $13.8 million over those four days.) Fantasy franchises—some Marvel, DC and *Transformers* movies, the YA sagas *Harry Potter*, *Twilight* and *The Hunger Games*—have scored higher, as well as the occasional *Shrek*, *Toy Story* or *Fast & Furious* sequel and the remakes of presold properties like *Alice in Wonderland* and *Godzilla*. But for a stand-alone drama, this is the biggest opening in film history. It's quite possible that by Oscar night, *Sniper* will have sold more tickets at domestic theaters than the other seven Best Picture nominees combined.

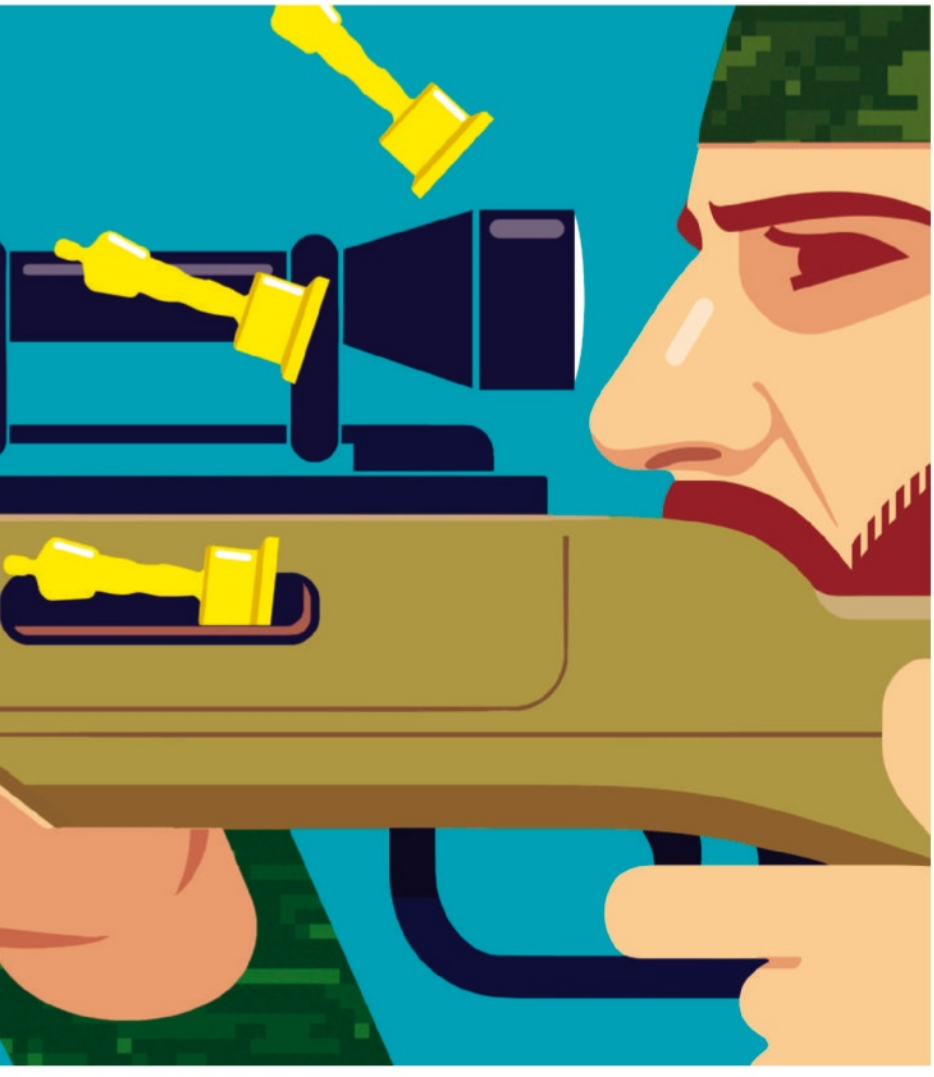
Box-office gold doesn't always translate into Oscar glory. Just ask James Cameron, whose *Avatar* ($760 million domestic) lost for Best Picture in 2010 to *The Hurt Locker* ($17 million). But Cameron was fighting the Academy's prejudice against science fiction, whereas Eastwood's movie is, like *The Hurt Locker*, the story of an exceptional man who defends his comrades' lives in Iraq. The soldier played by Jeremy Renner in *The Hurt Locker* defuses bombs; Kyle picks off terrorism suspects. Each man has the cool aplomb, analytical acumen and attention to detail of a great athlete or master sociopath—and maybe both.

Drawing huge audiences from both coastal cities and the heartland, *Sniper* can be seen as red meat for the red states. This stirred prominent movie-doc leftie Michael Moore to tweet his disapproval of Kyle's job. "My uncle killed by sniper in WW2," Moore wrote. "We were taught snipers were cowards. Will shoot u in the back. Snipers aren't heroes. And invaders r worse. … But if you're on the roof of your home defending it from invaders who've come 7K miles, you are not a sniper, u are brave, u are a neighbor." Translation: Hail to the Iraqi insurgent snipers, boo to *American Sniper*.

Moore then disingenuously claimed he hadn't been referring to the movie. But he had fired the first shot in a Twitter war that brought Sean Hannity and Sarah Palin to the film's defense. If *Sniper* took a step toward the Oscars with its mammoth opening, it took two steps back in its adoption by Fox News.

A third view: *Sniper*, which screenwriter Jason Hall based on Kyle's autobiography, is a nuanced tribute to evangelical militarism. It casts the story of a record-setting shooter as a parable of the trusty sheepdog (Kyle) protecting its flock (U.S. Marines in Iraq) from the wolves (Iraqi insurgents). Moore is right that the word *sniper* doesn't often come with a halo. It

Illustration by James Walton for TIME



evokes memories of Lee Harvey Oswald and Charles Whitman, both ex-Marines, and of King's killer, James Earl Ray. But in war, a sniper can be his comrades' savior. That's *Sniper*'s view of Kyle: the guardian angel of U.S. soldiers in Fallujah and Ramadi and the exterminating angel of those who would kill them. (Unless he's on the other side. Then he's a terrorist.)

In a flashback scene, Kyle's preacher father takes young Chris out shooting, observes the boy's innate expertise with a rifle and says, "You got a gift. You're gonna be a fine hunter some day." The adult Kyle, an aimless Texas ranch hand, takes his sheepdog mission to heart when he joins the Navy SEALs and is sent to Iraq. Marines go house to house, searching for a top al-Qaeda operative, while Kyle perches on a rooftop looking for suspicious actors. Among these may be a boy concealing a pipe bomb and a woman ready to toss it. *Blam! Blam!* That makes Kyle the outsider gunslinger who stands up for civilization while standing apart from it: the Shane of Sadr City.

He is also within shooting distance of being a Clint Eastwood hero—a phrase that carries its own contradictions and ironies. In his Italian westerns for director Sergio Leone, Eastwood pursued his own dark code as he wiped out a ton of bad guys. In westerns like *High Plains Drifter* and *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, and in the *Dirty Harry* cop series, he scowled his way through hells so twisted that the only moral choice was among various shades of black. He piled up plenty of corpses, but even a hired gunman like Will Munny in *Unforgiven* (which won Eastwood his first Best Picture Oscar in 1993) realized that death had weight: "It's a hell of a thing, killing a man. Take away all he's got and all he's ever gonna have."

A big, burly action film, *Sniper* is also what the mass audience would call a *real* movie: a tribute to a U.S. hero

The movie's Chris Kyle has no qualms about killing the "savages" in his rifle sight. Sniping is a job he does brilliantly, for God and country, and he loves what he does so well. Feeling most alive in the grip of death, he is almost useless back in Texas with his wife Taya (Sienna Miller) and their two kids. Why is he not in Iraq, saving the lives of more soldiers? He may be suffering the guilt of a sheepdog away from his flock, but he's also at ease only in scenarios of peril with other men. The gunslinger needs to keep shooting. That's why Kyle re-ups for three more Iraq tours. He's homesick.

Kyle's fatal artistry won him the nickname the Legend. The movie prints that legend, excising the more roguish aspects of Kyle's autobiography, like a possibly invented bar fight with Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura (for which Ventura won a $1.8 million defamation suit). It portrays Kyle as a man who risked his life for his comrades and surrendered it in 2013, when he was killed on a shooting excursion with a troubled vet. Eastwood plants reservations about Kyle's heroism only in Taya's furrowed brow or numb stare. And Cooper, in a bold turn that is more complex than it looks, manages to convey what Kyle may not understand: that an angel of death can't really be a saint.

At 84, Eastwood is utterly in command of his epic material. He films the action in Iraq in terse, tense panoramas with little cinematic editorializing, as if he were the old Greek or Hebrew God who is never surprised at man's ability to kill his fellow men, or to find reasons to do so. Honing his craft to its essentials, he makes it seem as if the story is telling itself.

Warner Bros. executives originally planned to open the movie in December 2015 but pushed it up when they saw the rough cut last summer. It's the same strategy they applied a decade ago, when they rushed *Million Dollar Baby* for a year-end release. That little drama went on to earn $100 million at domestic theaters and won four Oscars, including Best Picture.

This time, the smart money remains on *Boyhood*, the critics' longtime favorite. But the singular popularity of the Eastwood film gives Academy voters some crucial questions to ponder: What's the difference between a hero and a movie hero? And is *American Sniper* simply the celebration of a famous warrior or a director's subtle commentary on the American way of love, war and death? ■

Profile

Drama King. The blockbuster dreams of Canada's indie wunderkind

By Sam Lansky

THERE'S A MOMENT IN XAVIER DOLAN'S new film, *Mommy*, when a troubled young man tells his mother that he's afraid she'll stop loving him. She offers a heartbreaking response that cuts to the core of the complicated relationship between parent and child: "What's going to happen is, I'm going to be loving you more and more, and you'll be loving me less and less. That's just the natural way of life."

Such insight may not be the type of wisdom viewers would expect from Dolan, a 25-year-old actor, writer and director considered the enfant terrible of Canadian cinema. Dolan, who has written and directed five feature films, is a controversial figure in the international film scene; he notoriously joked that Orson Welles, whose *Citizen Kane* was released just days before his 26th birthday, was "lazy" and "a late bloomer." Dolan's critics deride his work as narcissistic and smug. But *Mommy* won the Jury Prize at last year's Cannes Film Festival and earned a 13-minute standing ovation as well as rapt praise from jury head Jane Campion, the Oscar-winning director of *The Piano*. Profound and provocative, *Mommy*, which opens in limited release on Jan. 23, proves that even wunderkinds can grow up.

"I wanted to use *Mommy* as a vehicle to propel myself towards another sort of filmmaking," Dolan says in brisk, lightly accented English over lunch at a Manhattan restaurant. He's wearing a cornflower blue leather jacket and picking at tuna tartare; he looks more like a high-fashion model than a French-Canadian kid from the suburbs known for making challenging, deeply personal films. "I feel like I've entered a new cycle that's more about characters and storytelling than stylistic exercises or formal explorations."

Dolan might talk like a film-school graduate, but he's mostly self-taught. He was born and raised near Montreal, where his father Manuel Tadros became a successful musician and performer after emigrating from Egypt. Growing up, Dolan had a fruitful career as a child actor, especially with voice work for French-Canadian translations: he dubbed the dialogue of Ron Weasley in the *Harry Potter* films and played Stan on *South Park*. But as a teenager, he had a turbulent relationship with his mother Genevieve, who ended up sending him to boarding school.

Their struggles served as the inspiration for his semiautobiographical first film, *I Killed My Mother*, produced with money Dolan had saved from acting gigs and the help of government arts funding. Written when he was 16, the film starred Dolan as a fictionalized version of himself—a surly, temperamental gay teen—opposite a frustrated, hotheaded version of his mother, as played by the venerable French-Canadian actress Anne Dorval. The film premiered at Cannes in 2009, when Dolan was 20, and won three awards.

He followed that with three more films shot in quick succession: 2010's *Heartbeats*, about two friends who fall in love with the same man; 2012's *Laurence Anyways*, the dreamy tale of a transgender woman's romantic life, executive-produced by Gus Van Sant *(Good Will Hunting, Milk)*; and the 2013 thriller *Tom at the Farm*, adapted from a stage production by Québécois playwright Michel Marc Bouchard.



Mommy issues *Dorval stars as Diane, a single mother raising a difficult son, in Dolan's new film*

Now, with *Mommy*, Dolan is on the brink of directorial stardom. It's easily his best film, bitterly funny and emotionally wrenching, and it smooths the rough edges of his early promise. Like his debut, it's about a mother and her son, with the maternal role again filled by Dorval, who plays Diane, a widowed mother of a manipulative, charismatic boy, Steve. But here the son is played by the young actor Antoine Olivier Pilon instead of Dolan. Pilon gives a dazzling, dynamic performance that hums with dangerous hyperactivity. The fraught relationship between mother and son, at turns violent and tender, has a rare rawness and vitality.

It helps that *Mommy* was shot in a distinctive 1:1 aspect ratio—a square with black boxes on either side, rather than a rectangle that fills the whole screen—which Dolan says he did to make the frame feel more intimate. (He finds comparisons to Instagram irritating: "Remember the Polaroid?" he says, rolling his eyes.)

Mommy has art-house appeal, but there's also something doggedly commercial about Dolan's work—an affection for big emotional fireworks that's unusual amid the muted tones of indie film. When asked for his influences, Dolan cites *Home Alone*, *Jumanji* and, most of all, *Titanic*. It's no surprise that his next film is a play for broader success. *The Death and Life of John F. Donovan*, which begins production this summer, will be Dolan's first English-language film; Jessica Chastain, Susan Sarandon, Kathy Bates and Kit Harington (Jon Snow on *Game of Thrones*) have already signed on. There's a lot riding on it, for Dolan at least. "If this movie isn't seen by the public, it is a failure in itself," Dolan says. "An abysmal failure."

He probably shouldn't be worried—his star is clearly on the rise. Dolan is on the cover of fashion magazines, and he recently signed with the same talent agent as Brad Pitt. *Mommy* is already in his rearview mirror—he's eager to get started on something even more ambitious.

"I'm proud of it," he says of *Mommy*. But? "I've been talking about this film for nine months now," he says with a sigh. For him, that's an eternity. ■

Photograph by Ryan Pfluger for TIME



Tuned In

Knope and Change. *Parks and Recreation* bet against cynicism and won

By James Poniewozik

IN THE SPRING OF 2009, THE U.S. WAS trying to climb out of a deep, ugly hole. So was Leslie Knope. With the Great Recession raging and Americans debating the government's role in fixing it, NBC premiered *Parks and Recreation*, starring Amy Poehler as an ambitious small-town bureaucrat in fictional Pawnee, Ind. Leslie took on a small but fiercely fought challenge: turning a dangerous abandoned pit into a city park, a quest that involved many pratfalls into the hole and push-back from Pawnee's fractious citizens, who would show up at town meetings to—in Leslie's glass-half-full phrasing—"care loudly at me."

The park eventually got built. The recession eventually ended. But beyond that, Washington and Pawnee parted ways. In the real world, gridlock and polarization killed any hope that reasonable people could compromise on problems everyone knew needed to be solved. But *Parks*, which ends its final season on Feb. 24, suggested something crazy for a political comedy in a cynical time: that as absurd and imperfect as government could be, it could still make life slightly better.

Parks became network TV's best and brightest sitcom by embodying the slogan that all politics is local. It doesn't mention political parties. (In the current season it's 2017, but we don't even know who won the election—no spoilers!) *Parks*' concerns are budgets, zoning, local rivalries. It hasn't pushed hot buttons so much as tickled them, as when Leslie performed a photo-op "marriage" of two zoo penguins who turned out to be gay.

But there's a big idea in *Parks*' small-scale vision. In the frame of today's politics, it might be a liberal notion, but it's one that for much of the 20th century was centrist, and even championed by Republicans like park lover Teddy Roosevelt: that we need government to do things the private sector can't or won't, like preserving public spaces.

Shockingly, *Parks* has dared to suggest that while some civil servants might be bumbling—sorry, Jerry!—they can also be well-intentioned and competent. (This too wasn't considered a liberal notion before the era when Ronald Reagan joked that "the nine most terrifying words in the English language are 'I'm from the government and I'm here to help.'") Leslie is comically tenacious—Poehler plays her as a cheerfully overprepared super-wonk—but she's good at what she does and is driven by a fierce love for her hometown as well as its famous waffles.

Leslie can't do it alone, though: she's assisted by a network of co-workers and friends (played by a comedy-powerhouse cast, many of whom—like Chris Pratt, Aubrey Plaza and Aziz Ansari—have deservingly become stars). Even her former supervisor Ron Swanson (Nick Offerman) admires Leslie's commitment, even though he's so libertarian, he once illustrated the evils of taxation to a fourth grader by eating 40% of her lunch. *Parks* argues not only that we need our neighbors' help but that helping makes us better ourselves; it's in the small-town, populist tradition of *Friday Night Lights* and *It's a Wonderful Life*.

Still, *Parks* isn't naive about how tough it can be to convince Bedford Falls not to let itself become Pottersville. Leslie is elected to city council, then loses a recall vote after she angers businesses by pushing a soda tax. (One Pawnee fast-food joint serves a 512-oz. "child size": "It's roughly the size of a 2-year-old child, if the child were liquefied.") By the seventh season, Leslie has moved up to head the regional office of the National Park Service.

Her final quest is to secure a valuable parcel of local land for a new national park. Problem one: a big tech business also wants to buy it and has much deeper pockets. Problem two: the tech company is working with Ron, now a private contractor, which both tests their friendship and pits his libertarianism against her communitarianism. But while Leslie's rivals have money, she says, "I have the most valuable currency in America: a blind, stubborn belief that I'm 100% right."

Parks' sympathies are with the underdog. After all, it's always been one, scraping by with a fraction of the viewers of hits like *The Big Bang Theory*. But it's survived for seven seasons, and—even if NBC seems to be rushing it out the door by airing its last episodes two at a time—it's getting to end its optimistic story on its own terms. As Leslie Knope knows, sometimes the little victories are the sweetest. ■


THE ENDLESS OPTIMISM OF LESLIE KNOPE
"I am a lifelong government bureaucrat who's well versed in the issues. And those are the kind of sexy qualifications that win elections."
"We're a nation of dreamers, and it is my dream to build a park that I one day visit with my White House staff on my birthday."
"COOL PEOPLE MAKE THE RULES. THEY DON'T BREAK THE RULES."
"I LOVE THIS TOWN, AND WHEN YOU LOVE SOMETHING … YOU FIGHT FOR IT. YOU TAKE CARE OF IT. YOU PUT IT FIRST."

NBC

ADVERTISEMENT

What Your Annuity Salesman Doesn't Want You To Know

What You Might Not Know About Annuities Could Come Back To Haunt You

Before you put your hard-earned money into an annuity, or if you already own one, please call 1-800-695-5929 for a special report, *Annuity Insights: Nine Questions Every Annuity Investor Should Ask.* It could help save you hundreds of thousands of dollars and untold financial heartache.

The vast majority of annuities are really complicated insurance policies that make it very difficult to fully understand the implications and unintended consequences. And once you buy into an annuity, it can be a very difficult and potentially very costly investment decision to reverse. That's why it is vital you "look before you leap" and ensure that you have "your eyes wide open" before you purchase an annuity. And if you already own an annuity, this free report is just as valuable as it can help you sort out the good, the bad and the ugly aspects of annuities.

What You'll Learn From This Free Report

- The different types of annuities and the advantages and disadvantages of each
- Why annuities can be complex to understand
- What you need to ask an annuity salesman when evaluating his product
- The inflation risk, tax implications, estate planning considerations and typical annuity fees

Don't Be Lulled By The Soothing Sound Of Guaranteed Income

Sure, guaranteed income, free from market volatility, has a lot of appeal, especially for people approaching or in retirement. But that guarantee can cost you big in commissions, fees, surrender charges, taxes and other costs. Plus, locking in a guaranteed income stream that doesn't take into account inflation can seriously erode the value of your cash flow. In our report, we'll show you how buying or staying in the wrong annuity could literally cost you hundreds of thousands of dollars in fees and lost opportunities.

Stuck In An Annuity?

Because people often regret their annuity decision, Fisher Investments has helped many investors extract themselves from annuities. In fact, if you have a portfolio of $500,000 or more, we may rebate some or all of your annuity surrender penalties. Rebates average over $13,000.* Please call for details and to see if you might qualify.

About Fisher Investments

Fisher Investments is a money management firm serving successful individuals as well as large institutional investors. With over $58 billion** in assets under management and with a track record of over 35 years in bull and bear markets, Fisher Investments uses its proprietary research to manage money for investors.





If you own an annuity or if someone is trying to sell you one, I urge you to call for your free report. Annuities can lock you into low returns, complicate your tax situation, tie up your wealth and hit you with high fees. If you have an annuity, my team can help you decide if it is right for you. And if it isn't, we might be able to help you get out of it and even help you offset some of the annuity surrender fees.*

This free report could save you from making one of the biggest investment mistakes of your life. And for owners of annuities, the free analysis could be a life saver.

Ken Fisher

Ken Fisher

- CEO and Co-Chief Investment Officer, Fisher Investments
- *Forbes* "Portfolio Strategy" columnist for 30 years
- Author of 10 financial books, including four *New York Times* bestsellers

Please hurry! This offer contains time-sensitive information.

Call today for your FREE report!

1-800-695-5929 Ext. AC26

©2014 Fisher Investments. 5525 NW Fisher Creek Drive, Camas, WA 98607. Investments in securities involve the risk of loss. Past performance is no guarantee of future returns. *Rebates are for investors who liquidate an annuity with surrender penalties and fund a Private Client Group account. Average rebates from August 2011 to September 2013 were $13,227. Terms and conditions apply. See www.AnnuityAssist.com/Terms-and-Conditions for further information.
**As of 9/30/2014.

FISHER INVESTMENTS®
INVEST ASSURED

Travel



Stockholm

Hot Ticket. The rising dollar is driving better deals for vacations abroad

By Sam Frizell

THE U.S. DOLLAR IS AT ITS STRONGEST POINT in years compared with many other key currencies—and that means it's übercheap for Americans to travel internationally.

There are several factors driving the dollar's rise. Among them: euro-zone instability, economic slowdowns in Asia and South America and "the perception that everything is great in the U.S.," says San Francisco–based investment manager Axel Merk, citing domestic growth.

As a result, since January 2014, the greenback's purchasing power has grown 15% against the euro, 10% against the yen and 21% against the Argentine peso. In Russia, where falling oil prices and harsh European sanctions have upended the economy, the dollar is up 49% against the ruble.

To best leverage those discounts abroad, experts suggest paying in cash or getting a credit card that doesn't charge foreign-transaction fees, which can add up quickly. Moreover, if the exchange rate shifts in your favor after you've booked a hotel, consider calling to renegotiate the nightly rate.

Unfortunately, says Kimberly Wilson Wetty, a travel agent in New York City, flight prices won't drop unless demand does. But no matter. "Once you're in these countries," she says, "your dollar will go so much further."

WHERE TO GET MORE BANG FOR YOUR BUCKS

SWEDEN
A dollar will go 21% further in Stockholm (vs. a year ago), driving deals such as a premium night at the waterfront Grand Hotel for the equivalent of $542.

JAPAN
With the dollar up 10% vs. the yen, a standard room at the luxe Park Hyatt—where *Lost in Translation* was shot—will set you back $536.



Café Pushkin, Moscow

RUSSIA
In Moscow, where the dollar is up 49% against the ruble, a three-course meal of dumplings, duck breast and hazelnut cake at the posh Café Pushkin costs $54.

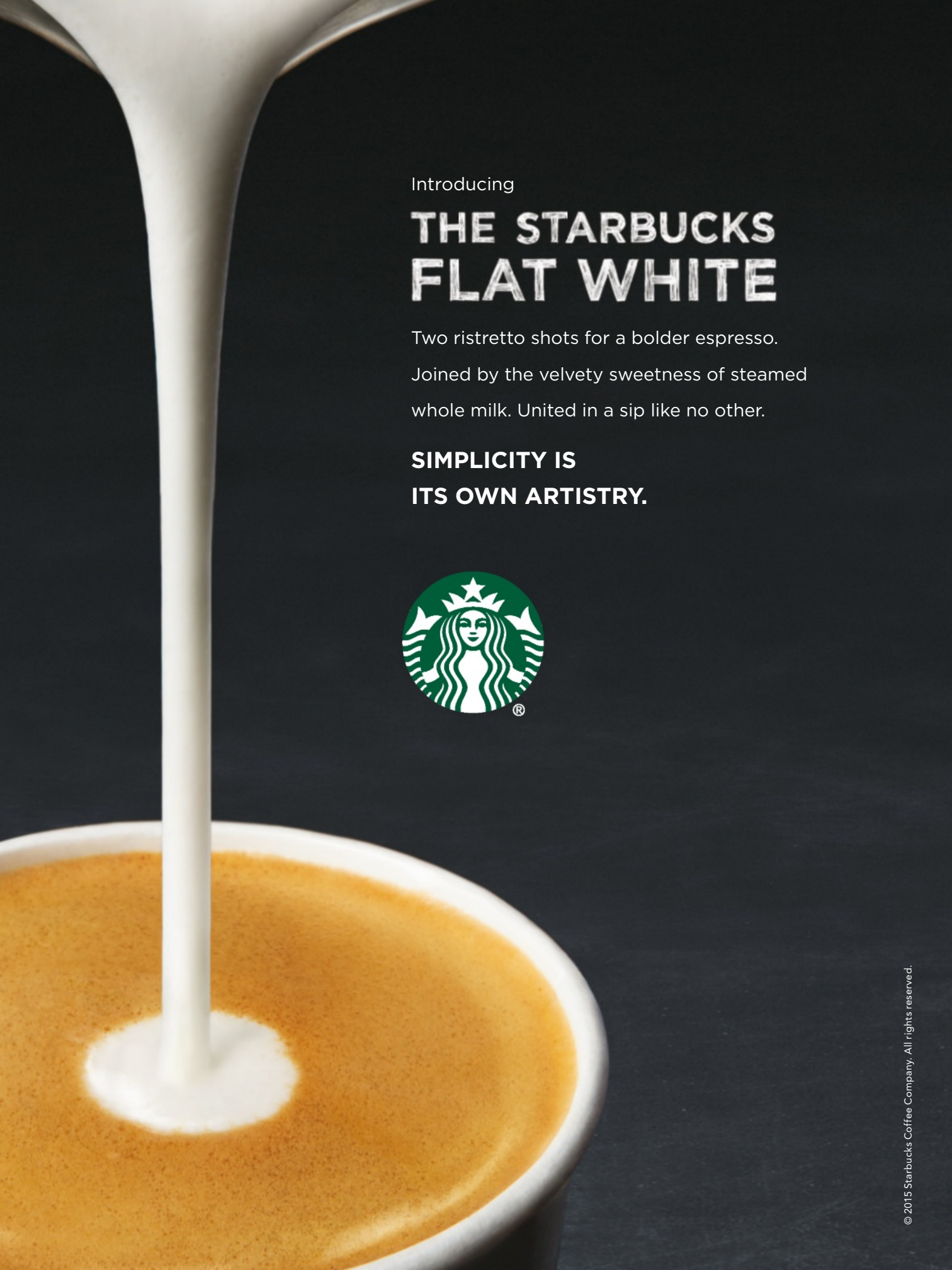
GERMANY
A glass of freshly brewed beer costs $4.43 in Munich, where the dollar is up 15% against the euro.



ARGENTINA
An average steak dinner in Buenos Aires, where the dollar is up 21% vs. the Argentine peso, costs $21.

Pricing estimates as of Jan. 16

STOCKHOLM: FEDERICA GENTILE—GETTY IMAGES; CAFE PUSHKIN: TOMA BABOVIC—LAIF/REDUX; BEER: GETTY IMAGES


Introducing
THE STARBUCKS
FLAT WHITE
Two ristretto shots for a bolder espresso.
Joined by the velvety sweetness of steamed
whole milk. United in a sip like no other.
SIMPLICITY IS
ITS OWN ARTISTRY.
© 2015 Starbucks Coffee Company. All rights reserved.

Pop Chart

LOVE IT

▲ A *Lego Movie* director **created his own Oscar** after the much loved film didn't get a nod for Best Animated Feature.



▲ **Prince William and Kate Middleton have officially joined Instagram** and Twitter. Follow them at @Kensington Royal.

▲ Jessie J **sang her hit single "Bang Bang"** on BBC One's *The Graham Norton Show* with her mouth closed.



▲ *Frozen* star **Idina Menzel will sing the national anthem** at Super Bowl XLIX.

THE DIGITS

433

The number of hours VH1 Classic will devote to a massive *Saturday Night Live* marathon, beginning Jan. 28, to celebrate the show's 40th anniversary. It will start with Season 39 and work back to the very first episode.



MOCK UPS *In an effort to skewer supposedly inspirational stock imagery, filmmaker Dean Fleischer-Camp (co-creator of the YouTube hit* Marcel the Shell With Shoes On*) took the conceit to its extreme. See his full collection of fake posters at topposters.us.*

QUICK TALK

Carrie Brownstein

The 40-year-old co-creator and star of *Portlandia* (Thursdays on IFC) also plays in Sleater-Kinney—"America's best rock band," per TIME in 2001. The punk group just released *No Cities to Love*, its first album in a decade.
—NOLAN FEENEY

Singing, acting, drama, comedy—and your memoir is coming out this fall. Is there anything you can't do? Based on statistics alone, there are so many things I can't do. You only named four things out of a million possibilities! Really, I'm probably failing. **What's your hidden *non*-talent?** I'm a horrible visual artist. I can't draw or paint or sketch. I'm a terrible cook. I don't have any acumen for plumbing or mathematics. **What is the most stereotypically Portland thing about you?** I can't believe how many Gore-Tex jackets I own, or vests, or flannels, or hiking shoes. It's just a prerequisite when you live there—someone might spring a camping trip on you in the middle of a dinner. **That sounds stressful.** Oh my God, it's the *worst*. That's a deal breaker for a friendship. **Nobody leaked the Sleater-Kinney comeback news until the group announced it. You must be good at keeping secrets.** It's strange, I feel like we were less secretive than we should have been. We were talking to friends, and somehow our friends kept it a secret. **What's next: surprise-releasing a whole new album, Beyoncé-style?** That's definitely an option, but no one is Beyoncé—you just have to give her props for that.

"ON MY RADAR

▶ **Hip-hip duo Run the Jewels**

"Toward the end of the year I was really listening to them a lot."



ROUNDUP

Characters in Chief

In the miniseries *Sons of Liberty*, debuting Jan. 25, the History Channel reimagines our Founding Fathers—including John Adams and George Washington—as roguish action heroes. But it's hardly the first time a TV show or movie has toyed with presidential history.

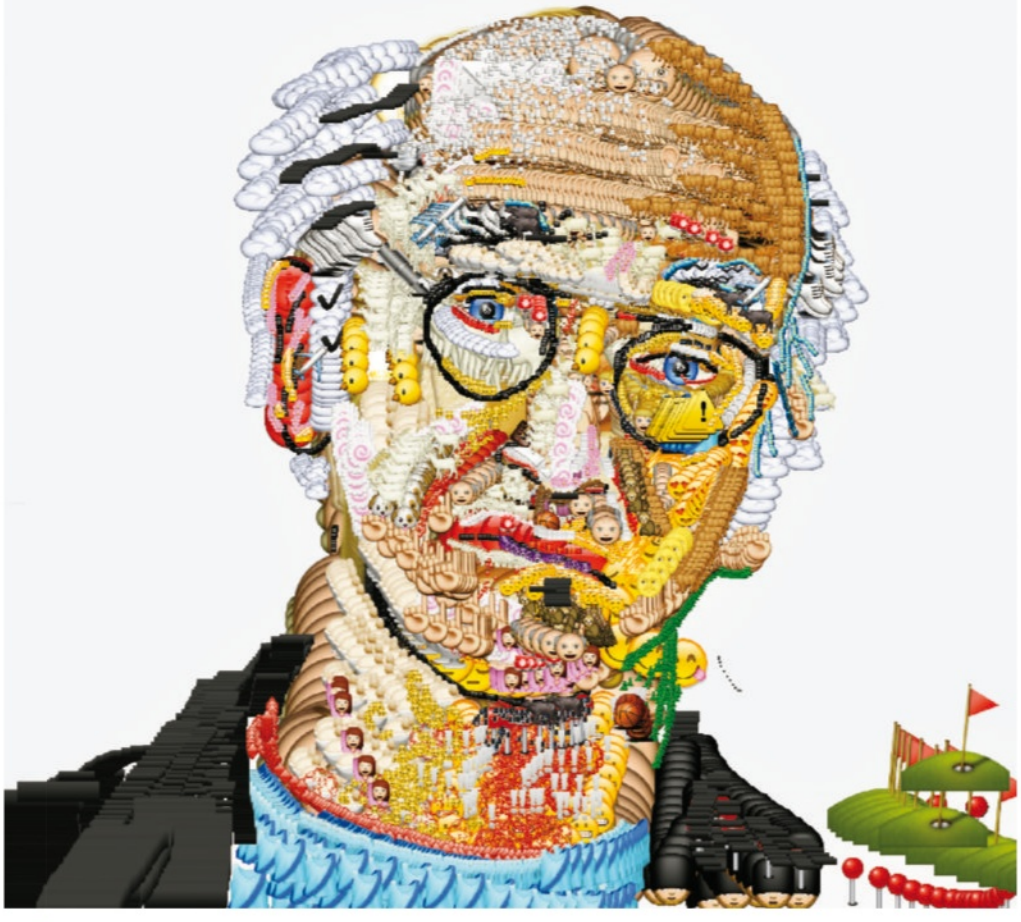


ABRAHAM LINCOLN
As the title slayer in *Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter,* he fights a Confederate Army made up of bloodsuckers and ultimately wins



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
In *Pearl Harbor,* Jon Voight's FDR delivers a speech about his disability—which he strove to hide in real life—and then stands up

POSTER: DEAN FLEISCHER-CAMP; BROWNSTEIN: UNIQUE NICOLE—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES; DAVID: YUNG JAKE; RUG: AP; AVATAR: TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX; PRESIDENTS, MENZEL: GETTY IMAGES (6)



FACE TIME *Emojis have forever changed the way we text, and now they just might change the way we create art—at least, if Yung Jake has a say. Using the website Emoji.ink, which lets anyone create illustrations using emoji, the rapper and visual artist painted intricate portraits of real-life celebrities, including Larry David* (above), *Miley Cyrus, Kim Kardashian, Jerry Seinfeld and more. The series garnered significant attention after Jake posted it on Twitter.*

VERBATIM

‘Finally after all that hard work … it’s happening.’

JUSTIN BIEBER, via Twitter, after being selected as the subject of Comedy Central’s next roast on March 7. The troublemaking pop star said he has been trying to give would-be roasters “more material” for their punch lines



ULYSSES S. GRANT
In *Wild Wild West,* the 18th President asks two agents to destroy a giant mechanical spider. They end up becoming the Secret Service



JOHN F. KENNEDY
On MTV’s early-2000s cult classic *Clone High,* the 35th President is reincarnated as a brash teen who ardently pursues Cleopatra



RICHARD NIXON
In *Dick,* the bumbling leader opens his White House to a pair of ditzy teenage dog walkers who end up uncovering Watergate

By Daniel D’Addario, Nolan Feeney, Samantha Grossman and Laura Stampler

LEAVE IT

ShipYour EnemiesGlitter .com, a site that lets you do just that, got so popular that the founder begged people to stop using it.



Because of a typo, a Florida sheriff’s office received **a rug reading “In Dog We Trust.”** (It will be auctioned to benefit an animal-rescue group.)

James Cameron announced that ***Avatar 2*’s release will be delayed yet again.** It’s now slated for a 2017 debut.



Nabisco’s Red Velvet Oreos—debuting to honor Valentine’s Day—will **be sold for only six to eight weeks.**

FOR TIME’S COMPLETE TV, FILM AND MUSIC COVERAGE, VISIT **time.com/entertainment**

Joel Stein

Admission Impossible

Trust me, students, you do not want to see the comments on your college application



I'M NOT AN INTROSPECTIVE guy. When people invite me to lunch, assign me work or read my column at the doctor's office, I assume it's because they love me unconditionally. But during my junior year at Stanford, I was bedeviled by insecurity. My girlfriend dumped me. My parents broke up. And the night they called to tell me, a girl pity-made-out with me, during which I leaned over my loft bed to put Peter Gabriel's *Passion* in my five-CD changer, fell to the floor and sliced my foot open on the net of the arcade football-tossing game I had stuffed into my dorm room to try to make friends.

So in 1992, when my friend Martha Brockenbrough, the editor of our school paper, used the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act to force the admissions office to show students the comments it had jotted on our applications, I, in my ego-weakened state, signed up, desperate to find out what people liked about me. Afterward I wrote a column about the horrors I read, and shortly thereafter Stanford began a policy of shredding all applications. But now that applications are filled out online, the school once again has all the records stored, digitally. So once again, Stanford students are using the law to gain access to the notes on their applications. If journalism is the first draft of history and history is doomed to repeat itself, then I am doomed to write the exact same column I wrote in my junior year of college.

I called the current student who forced Stanford to do this, in order to stop him or her. He or she started a funny email-only campus newsletter in September called the Fountain Hopper, which, he or she said, requires total anonymity on his or her part. Not because he or she is worried about getting in trouble with the administration, but because he or she is nervous about a satirical newsletter being the top Google result for the rest of his or her life.

To persuade him or her to reconsider, I told him or her the story of my own torture. Back in 1992, I walked into the admissions office, most likely unshowered, eating pizza and holding a book I've still never read. I was led to a room with 11 other misguided souls and given 30 minutes with a folder that I was told I was never meant to see. For people clever enough to select the smartest kids in the country, the admissions office knew very little about reverse psychology.

The first thing I noticed was the word *swim* circled in red. I was told that *swim* was Stanford's term for the pile



for applicants whom the admissions committee disagreed about, left in the middle of the water awaiting their fate. The comments included "He could drive you crazy." "Not appropriate." "Hormonal overdrive." And "Not especially funny." The most encouragement I got for my swim, which was apparently across the English Channel, were two smiley faces. This was before emoticons were popular, so they were hand-drawn and, therefore, if it's possible, even more patronizing.

I asked to see what I had written in my essay to cause this reaction. In response to the admittedly creepy prompt "Is there anything else we should know about you?" I wrote a "Top 10 Other Things You Should Know About Joel Stein," which included, "Babes will be coming in and out of the room so often it'll seem like the bus depot across the street from Barbizon." Way worse, an essay I wrote included the line "I was using humour as a crutch; trying to hide some of my insecurities behind a barrage of jokes instead of facing my fears." If they wouldn't do it, I'd have to drown myself. It's bad enough to speak with a fake British accent. It's unacceptable to spell with one.

My story, however, didn't convince the young man or woman leading current students to their downfall. Frustrated at the folly of overeducated youth, I took solace in the fact that at least I am no longer 20 and desperately seeking strangers' approval. Besides, now that I've had a successful writing career, I'm sure Stanford is thrilled it accepted me. Pretty sure. But it would be even better to find out.

So I tracked down the former admissions dean, Jean Fetter, while she was in Paris with her husband Steven Chu, the former Secretary of Energy and Nobel Prize–winning physicist, who was there as a keynote speaker at the opening ceremony of UNESCO's International Year of Light and was the one I actually bothered since his email was easier to find. Dean Jean wrote me right back, confirming my assumption that she too has been thinking about this for 25 years. "If you read your file you know I admitted you with foresight: 'This young man will make us all laugh while dispensing wisdom,'" she wrote. "So yes I'd do it again, although I'm thankful not to be responsible for selecting 5% of 42,000 applicants of 2014 and can't guarantee how you would fare in those circumstances." Seriously, you never want to find out what people really think of you.

I hope Stanford will shred its digital files and let students return to having no idea what their strengths and weaknesses are. Otherwise, someone else is going to find out they're not funny and waste their career desperately, annoyingly, inappropriately trying to prove otherwise. ■

ILLUSTRATION BY TOMASZ WALENTA FOR TIME; PAPER: GETTY IMAGES

Saving People Money Since 1936

... that's before there were color TVs.

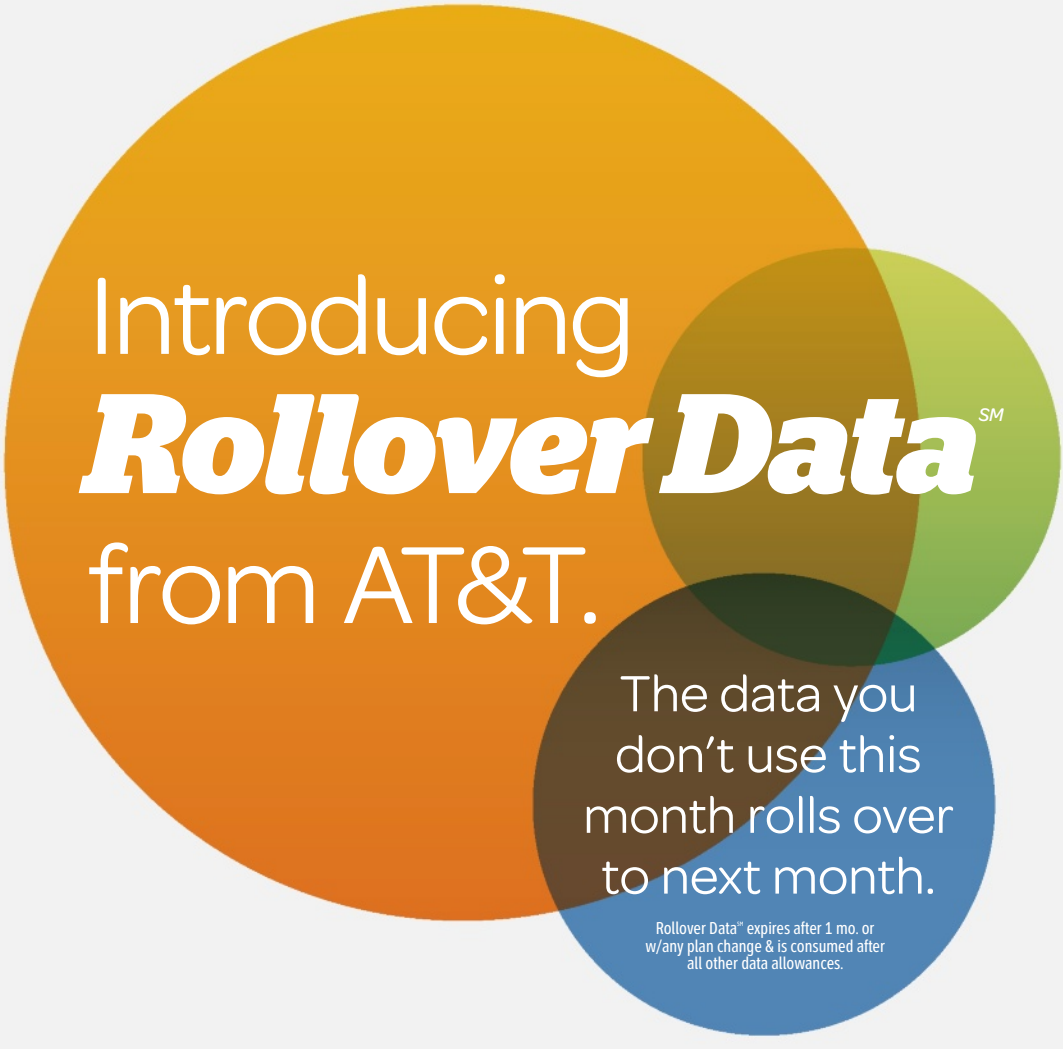
GEICO has been serving up great car insurance and fantastic customer service for more than 75 years. Get a quote and see how much you could save today.

geico.com | 1-800-947-AUTO | local office

GEICO®



Some discounts, coverages, payment plans and features are not available in all states or all GEICO companies. GEICO is a registered service mark of Government Employees Insurance Company, Washington, D.C. 20076; a Berkshire Hathaway Inc. subsidiary. © 2015 GEICO


Introducing
Rollover Data℠
from AT&T.
The data you don't use this month rolls over to next month.
Rollover Data℠ expires after 1 mo. or w/any plan change & is consumed after all other data allowances.

Now all Mobile Share Value® customers automatically get Rollover Data.℠ On the network with the ***nation's strongest LTE signal.***

Learn more at att.com/rolloverdata.

MOBILIZING YOUR WORLD™

Rollover Data℠: Only available with Mobile Share Value® plans. Unused data from the monthly plan allowance rounds up to the nearest MB and carries over for one billing period. **Unused Rollover Data automatically expires after one billing period or with any plan change (such as changing data amounts or termination).** Unused overage data does not roll over. Rollover Data is always consumed last, after your other data allowances. Unused Rollover Data is not redeemable for cash or credit and is not transferable including to other Mobile Share Value groups on your account. Mobile Share and Mobile Share data-only plans are excluded. Visit att.com/rolloverdata for more info. **Signal Strength:** Claim based ONLY on avg. LTE signal strength for national carriers. LTE is a trademark of ETSI. LTE not avail. everywhere. ©2015 AT&T Intellectual Property. All rights reserved. AT&T, the Globe logo and Mobilizing Your World, and other marks are trademarks of AT&T Intellectual Property.